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AUTHOR Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove; Phillipson, Robert
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ABSTRACT

The language rights of speakers of non-dominant languages are examined. It is argued that language rights are one category of human rights, and the protection of all languages requires a universal declaration, which can serve both to promote dominant languages and to avert the death of others. Linguistic rights are discussed in terms of the six following myths: (1) linguistic human rights are a reality in Europe and westernized countries; (2) overt racism and discrimination have already disappeared, and multiple identities are the new norm; (3) many languages divide a nation; (4) multilingualism is causally connected with poverty; (5) monolingualism in an international language should be the norm; and (6) underdeveloped countries should do as westernized countries do. The first myth is discussed at greatest length, and the ways that minorities have been deprived of their linguistic rights is illustrated with the example of the Sami people of Norway and supporting examples from other minorities around the world. The other myths are examined more cursorily and the need for more theoretically-based work is stressed. Finally, a current court case in which a Sami has sued the state for deprivation of human rights is reported. A 183-item bibliography is included. (MSE)

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Tove Skutnabb-Kangas
Robert Phillipson

Wanted! Linguistic Human Rights

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Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson

Wanted! Linguistic Human Rights

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Roskilde Universitetscenter
Januar 1989

WANTED! LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS is based on three joint papers, given at conferences:

1. DENIAL OF LINGUISTIC RIGHTS: THE NEW MENTAL SLAVERY,[1] presented at 11th World Congress of Sociology, New Delhi, India, 18-22 August 1986,

2. ON THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF DECLARATIONS OF LINGUISTIC RIGHTS: PROBLEMS AND TENDENCIES, presented at the AIMAV/UNESCO Seminar Human Rights and Cultural Rights, with special emphasis on the relation between human rights and linguistic rights, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil, October 7-9 1987, and

3. LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN A CONFLICT PERSPECTIVE: THE NEED TO CONSTRUCT COUNTER-HEGEMONIES, presented at the International Conference Minority Language Rights and Minority Education: European and North American Perspectives, Cornell University, N.Y., 6-9 May 1988.

We have merged the papers into an expanded, continuous text. It can hopefully be of use to those who are working in the field of human rights, and more particularly to those who are committed to achieving more rights for the speakers of dominated languages. As is apparent from the text, we are ourselves deeply involved in this field. We are also humbly aware that this is a long hard road along which a great deal of theoretical, practical and political ground still needs to be covered. We are therefore extremely interested in response to what we have written, of whatever kind.

One forum in which the work of refining theories and clearing some of the theoretical and empirical wood is being undertaken is an international Working Group on Language Rights, which was set up after the Delhi conference

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[1] This paper is the third in a series of four related papers. In the first, "English: the language of wider colonisation" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1986b), we look at the spread of the English language and its concomitant cultures in relation to a theory of imperialism, how the hegemony of English was constructed, how it is maintained, and the consequences for other languages. We introduce a linguicism continuum, from maintenance of a language and culture via neoplacement to displacement and replacement. In the second, "The legitimacy of the arguments for the spread of English" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1986b), we review the arguments in favour of the use and spread of English as an international and intranational language, and analyse them in terms of different ways of legitimating power. The fourth, "Countering English linguistic hegemony: multilingual strategies" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, forthcoming) considers strategies for achieving a more balanced relationship between English and other languages, especially in education.

(see above), where we coordinated a section on linguistic rights. The members are Annamalai (Mysore, India), Ayo Bamgboṣe (Ibadan, Nigeria), Richard Benton (Wellington, New Zealand), Juan Cobarrubias (Seton Hall, NJ, USA), Michail Guboglo (Moscow, USSR), Björn Jernudd (Singapore), Deirdre Jordan (Adelaide, Australia), Francisco Gomes de Matos (Recife, Brazil), Joseph Turi (Montreal, Canada) and ourselves. The Working Group is still in its infancy, and being undertaken as a commitment in addition to "normal" teaching and scholarly obligations. We can though promise that any feedback we receive will be shared with this group and possibly provide it with increased momentum.

The first paper was published in Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1986a, which was printed in a limited number of copies. The other two papers are due to appear in the conference publications. Chapter 11 is based on TSK's article "Har ursprungsbefolkningar rätten till språk och kultur – Johan Mathis Mikkelsen Gávppi startar unik rättegång" ("Do indigenous peoples have the right to language and culture – Johan Mathis Mikkelsen Gávppi starts a unique court case") which is in press in Swedish in several journals.

Our warm thanks for inspiration and comments on earlier versions of sections of this publication to Marjut and Pekka Aikio, Safder Alladina, Ulrich Ammon, Renate Bartsch, Jennifer Bayer, Jim Cummins, Hans Dua, Johan Mathis Mikkelsen Gávppi, Durk Gorter, Eduardo Hernandez-Chavez, Lachman Khubchandani, Kahombo Mateene, Chris Mullard, Markku Peura and Debi Prasanna Pattanayak, to all members of the Working Group on Linguistic Rights and to the Rinkeby Finnish women's group, especially Lilja Liukka and Pirkko Leporanta-Morley, both for comments and for their exemplary struggle for linguistic human rights.

We are also immensely grateful to Hartmut Haberland for converting the files from our relatively incompatible computer into the final printed shape, and for support and advice at any hour of the day or night (even when providing a delicious Greek dinner or putting Marilena to bed).

For reasons of linearity one author's name appears prior to the other's. This should not be taken as any indication of precedence, as the work is a joint product for which both authors are equally responsible.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

> "UNESCO...applauds all the efforts being made to consolidate the integrity and the intellectual and practical viability of the various endangered languages. A language which is lost or threatened leaves an irreparable gap in the cultural heritage of mankind" (M'Bow 1986, then Director-General of Unesco, in an address to the II Catalan Language Congress)
>
> "Don't you think that many languages lead to national disintegration?"
>
> "No. Many languages are like petals of a lotus. Many languages form a national mosaic. If some petals wither and fall off or some chips are displaced from the mosaic, then the lotus and the mosaic look ugly. With the death of languages the country will be poorer." (Pattanayak, 1988, 379)

1.1 Introduction

From a *linguistic* point of view all languages[2], spoken natively by a group of people, have equal worth. All are logical, cognitively complex, and capable of expressing any thoughts, provided enough resources are devoted to cultivation (creation of new lexical items, reference works, etc). There is no such thing as a "primitive language". On linguistic grounds *all languages could have the same rights*, the same possibility of being accepted and respected, of being learned fully and used in all situations by their speakers. But in practice we know that this is far from the case. Different languages have different political rights, not by virtue of any inherent linguistic characteristics, but dependent on the power relationships between the speakers of those languages. Political rights reflect societal conditions, and can only be understood in their historical context, by studying the forces which have led to the present socio-political division of power and resources in the societies concerned.

Languages are the property of the whole of humanity, as the initial quotations indicate. Therefore the protection of all languages requires a universal declaration. Language rights are one category of human rights. A declaration of linguistic rights can serve to promote dominated languages and to avert language death. Language death, linguicide, is the end result of a process which we call LINGUICISM (see later).

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[2] This is not the place to pursue the debate on the relative status of languages and dialects. A language is a dialect with an army, just as a tribe is a nation without a victorious army (see Calvet 1979, Ngũgĩ 1985, Phillipson 1986).

We will first formulate a framework for discussing linguistic human rights in general (the six myths). In the chapter about the first myth we review proclamations of linguistic rights and assess the degree to which they ensure the educational linguistic rights of minorities[3]. Since minorities (which we define sociologically, in terms of their relationship to power, not in terms of numbers) are those most often deprived of their linguistic rights, we will concentrate on minorities. We discuss some of the prerequisites for a viable declaration of linguistic rights, and come with a tentative proposal. The ways in which minorities have been deprived of their educational linguistic rights are illustrated in a chapter which describes the Sami[4] in Norway, supported by examples from other minorities all over the world. The remaining myths are examined in turn more cursorily and the need for more theoretically based work is stressed. Finally a current court case in which a Sami has sued the Norwegian state for depriving him of his educational linguistic rights is reported.

1.2 Linguicism and myths affirming it

We claim that there is an implicit paranoiac ideology behind the way most European and Europeanised[5] capitalist countries (try to) organise the education of powerless immigrant and indigenous minorities in their own countries. This ideology significantly underpins and legitimates the blatant oppression of the linguistic human rights of both indigenous and immigrant minorities that the education systems of European and Europeanised countries are guilty of. This ideology draws on THREE IMAGES: *an image these countries have about themselves* (developed, modern, rich, united, respecting human rights, countries that have made it), *an image they have of both Third World countries*, or, as we would prefer to put it, *underdeveloped*[6] *countries* and their representatives (including those who have come to Europe and Europeanised countries as guest workers/immigrants) *and the Fourth World, indigenous minorities* (primitive, traditional, poor, politically divided and unstable, undemocratic or not able to govern themselves, in need of help), and *an image of how linguistic homogeneity versus heterogeneity is (causally) connected with the characteristics which are regarded as constituting the two sets of countries*. If a country is monolingual, especially in one of the "international languages", all the "good" characteristics of the first group follow. If a country is multilingual, this automatically brings with it many of the characteristics of the second group.

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[3] All indigenous peoples and labour migrants belong to powerless minorities. So do most of those linguistic groups in Europe and Europeanised countries (those colonised by Europe, such as USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) who are not a majority in their own country in terms of numbers, for instance Francophones in Canada, even if they are not as powerless as the first groups referred to. Also minorities are ethnic groups scattered over several countries and without a country/state of their own (e.g. Kurds, Basques).

All these groups share some problems with powerless majorities. By powerless indigenous majorities we mean groups which are numerically in the majority in their own country but are either politically (South Africa) or economically (Zambia) controlled by a minority (which may or may not reside in the country). Such powerless majority groups in most African countries, who together make up a majority in terms of numbers but but do not have power, are forced to use a former colonial language as the language of education and official administration by elites in their own country, backed up by the forces of international capitalism.

Power minorities, on the other hand, groups which are a minority in terms of numbers but either have (whites in South Africa) or have had (Swedish-speakers in Finland) more power than their numbers would justify usually enjoy all linguistic human rights.

[4] "Sami" is the name by which the indigenous peoples in northern Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Soviet Union refer to themselves. The colonial name is "Lapp".

[5] Europeanized countries are the countries which were colonised from Europe, to the complete or virtual extinction of the original population, countries like Australia, Canada, New Zealand, USA.

Thus when minorities demand linguistic human rights, to support these demands will be seen as not only supporting multilingualism, but also accepting all the negative concomitants thought to follow with multilingualism. Thus for example, for the United States to accept maintenance-oriented bilingual education would be interpreted as also leading to the US becoming primitive, traditional, poor, politically divided and unstable, in need of help. Un-American.

The three images can be spelled out in the form of six myths, myths about "us", myths about "them" and myths about the causal role of linguistic homogeneity versus heterogeneity in development. We have formulated the myths to a large extent on the basis of arguments used in the planning papers for the Cornell conference (May 1988) on Minority Language Rights and Minority Education: European and North American perspectives. They appear there mostly as arguments presented by *others* (i.e. not the organizers) and in need of refutation, or as questions they ask of participants, but sometimes also as convictions which the organizers hold (or claim they hold, to be polite towards Europeans?). What we have attempted to do is to formulate the myths and start questioning them. We see the dissecting of the myths as an important task when working for the promotion of the educational linguistic human rights of minorities. Before formulating the myths we present a key concept we will use in organising and dissecting them, namely linguicism.

The myths are part of a LINGUICIST discourse. We define LINGUICISM as "ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1986a, 45). Linguicism forms part of the hegemonic structure which permits the dominance of certain groups or classes and their languages over others.

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[6] We use "underdeveloped" in an active sense, in order to point out that there is an agent which has underdevelop and continues to underdevelop a country, implied in the title of Walter Rodney's book "How Europe underdeveloped Africa".

Linguicism seems to be affirmed in the same way as racism[7]. In a book published by the World Council of Churches, Roy Preiswerk (1980) describes how racism is affirmed in textbooks, namely

- by means of self-exaltation on the part of the dominant group which creates an idealistic image of itself,
- by the degradation of the dominated group, and the suppression and stagnation of its culture, institutions, life-styles and ideas, and
- by systematic rationalization of the relationship between both groups, always favourable to the dominant group.

We have grouped the six myths according to the ways in which they affirm linguicism. The myths about "us" represent self-exaltation on the part of the dominant group and its language. The myths about "them" represent degradation of dominated groups and their languages. The myths about the relationship between language and development represent a rationalization of the status quo, i.e. of linguistic oppression. The six myths can be summarized as follows:

Myths about "us":

- myth 1 : linguistic human rights are a reality in Europe and Europeanised countries

- myth 2 : overt racism and discrimination have already (almost) disappeared in Europe and will soon do so in the USA (through educational measures: intercultural education), i.e. racism is an information problem. Multiple identities are the new norm. Class conflict has (almost) disappeared and intercultural harmony descended.

Myths about "them":

- myth 3 : many languages divide a nation

- myth 4 : multilingualism is causally connected with poverty.

Myths about the causal role of language in development, i.e. in the linguistic part of the relationship between "us" and "them":

- myth 5 : our languages, which are international and developed, can do the trick for other people too. Our language policies, which favour monolingualism, must have been successful, because they have taken our countries to where we are (rich, united, respecting human rights, etc). Therefore, monolingualism in an international language should be the norm, hence ...

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[7] In the same vein we define racism, classism, sexism and ageism as follows: ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of race/class/gender/age. On the relationship between these -isms and for a theoretical analysis of recent reordering processes in their inter-relations see Mullard 1986a, 1986b.

- myth 6 : underdeveloped countries (and their representatives who come to us as guest workers/immigrants) should learn from *us* in European and Europeanised countries.

As the main focus of this publication is on linguistic human rights, it is particularly myth 1 which will be analysed in depth.

CHAPTER 2. REVIEWING LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS

Myth one: LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS ARE A REALITY

"The Western world has come far in guaranteeing (educational) linguistic rights to minorities. In Europe there is a "variety of political and institutional arrangements respecting, preserving and enhancing the rights and freedoms of linguistic and ethnic minorities" (p. 2 in Cornell Conference description)."

2.1 Developing an analytical framework for reviewing declarations on linguistic rights

There are many possible ways to systematise language-related rights. Heinz Kloss (1971) differentiates between *tolerance-oriented* and *promotion-oriented* rights. David Marshall (1986, 19) discusses, in addition to these, the *"right to freedom from discrimination on the basis of language"* and the *"right to use your language* for the activities of commercial life". The International Journal of the Sociology of Language devotes a special issue (60, 1986), called "Language Rights and the English Language Amendment" (ELA), to the proposal to make English the (sole) official language of the United States. In the comments on Marshall's focus article, language rights in several countries are presented. One feature which seems to differentiate countries is the *degree of explicitness* in the formulation of the rights of linguistic minorities.

Juan Cobarrubias (1983, 71) presents a "taxonomy of official attitudes toward minority languages, (where) the following can be distinguished: 1. attempting to kill a language; 2. letting a language die; 3. unsupported coexistence; 4. partial support of specific language functions; 5. adoption as an official language". He also discusses the question of whether language rights belong to "natural rights" or "conventional rights" or both (ibid.). For instance, "the freedom of language choice in community life and in private may very well be viewed as part of our natural freedom" (ibid., 74), and no state or nation is empowered to control these rights. But it should also be obvious that language use in the community and in private is influenced by the extent to which the state has accorded or denied those rights which the state *is* empowered to control. In many cases, a language which does not have any official use dies out, especially as a result of educational provision being expanded but conducted in the dominant language. Schools have always been the state's most powerful weapon in assimilating minority children.

Specific language-related legislation can either thwart or promote equality between languages. Since much of the further development of a mother tongue takes place within the school system, it is important to see what the presence or absence of educational rights, especially educational language-related rights, can (or cannot) do for maintaining or killing a language. In looking at legal covenants and other declarations on human rights, we have therefore been especially interested in seeing what kind of reference, if any, is made to language rights in education. Do children, especially minority children, have a right to be educated through the medium of their mother tongues? Do children have the right to become bi- or multilingual?

In an attempt to capture some of the relevant distinctions, we have devised a *grid* charting some of the important dimensions of language rights. Linguistic assimilation into the dominant society and the maintenance of a minority language are not processes which the state can directly regulate through laws and decrees. These can only facilitate or thwart the creation of conditions for assimilation or maintenance. We have therefore represented assimilation and maintenance as goals and results of the different rights or lack of rights and not incorporated them into the two dimensions used. These are *degree of overtness* and *degree of promotion*. We see both as continua.

Laws and decrees can be more or less *overt* in relation to the rights of minority languages. If the minority languages (or the languages of powerless majorities, for instance African languages in many African countries, where English or French is the dominant language in education) are not mentioned at all in regulations about schooling, this would represent a point close to the *"covert"* end of the continuum. Often the nature of the rights or lack of rights of *minority* languages can be implicitly inferred from what is said either about the *majority* language or about *languages in general*. If exactly how many hours per week a language is to be taught as a subject in different grades is laid down, this would be close to the "overt" end of the continuum.

The *promotion continuum* starts (see figure 1) with *prohibition* of a language, which is obviously strongly assimilation-oriented. It continues via *toleration* of the language, a situation where the language is not forbidden (explicitly or implicitly), to *non-discrimination prescription*, where discrimination of people on the basis of language is forbidden, either overtly (discrimination is made illegal in a way which is explicit enough not to cause difficulties of legal interpretation and/or where there may be sanctions of some kind) or covertly (as part of general legislation on countering discrimination). The next point on the continuum would be *permission* to use the minority language. At the other end of the continuum we have *promotion* of the minority language. This is obviously oriented toward maintaining it.

2.2 The analytical framework in operation: countries

Before going on to examine international conventions and decrees, we will present sample declarations of language rights, mostly in education, from specific countries, in order to make the dimensions more concrete, and then plot them onto our grid.

Example 1: HUDDLESTON ELA, USA

Section 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States" (Senator Huddleston's formulation of the English Language Amendment, S.J.R. 167, quoted in Marshall 1986, 36)

This is an example of *covert assimilation-oriented prohibition* of minority languages. It makes no mention of other languages, but implicitly prohibits their use in functions which are carried out in an official language. It forces minority language speakers to use English for all official purposes instead of their own languages.

Example 2: HAYAKAWA ELA, USA

In Senator Hayakawa's version (S.J.R. 72, ibid, 24), the same "Section 1." is followed by a Section 2:

"Neither the United States nor any State shall make or enforce any law which requires the use of any language other than English."

This is an example of *overt assimilation-oriented prohibition*.

Example 3: YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia's Constitution guarantees to every individual "the right to instruction in their own language" in the regions they natively inhabit (SFRY Constitution, Article 171, para 2, cited in CERI/ECAPL/84.05, 8-9). This is *overt maintenance-oriented promotion*.

Example 4: SWEDISH-SPEAKERS, FINLAND

Example 5: SAMI, FINLAND

The Finnish Constitution states (para 14, Constitution Act of 1919) that "...the cultural and economic needs of the Finnish and Swedish speaking populations shall be equally and uniformly guaranteed by the state". According to regulations for schools, "Municipalities have an obligation to found a lower level comprehensive school (grades 1-6) for the minority children, if the number of children in the municipality needing education in their own language is a minimum of 13" (quoted in CERI/ECALP/83.03, 15). This is also *overt maintenance-oriented promotion*.

However, there are no linguistic educational legal rights in Finland for another indigenous minority group, the Sami. They are simply not mentioned. This is *covert assimilation-oriented toleration*. The constitution and the regulations neither proscribe nor enjoin the use of any language for *everybody*. They do not prevent the use of other languages in education either, and in fact Sami is used as the medium of education in some schools. But our different placing of the Sami case and Huddleston (example 1) in figure 1 shows that a placing of the covert cases must in addition be based on empirical evidence from what in fact happens and on other relevant legal documents. In Finland the general political climate vis-a-vis minorities is maintenance-oriented (because of the Swedish minority in Finland, and the Finnish, mainly immigrant, minority in Sweden, for whom Finland has demanded maintenance-oriented education). Sami might well get overt educational rights which lead to maintenance (if there are any Sami speakers left by then – see Aikio 1984, 1988 and Aikio & Aikio 1985). In the USA there is at best toleration of transitional education.

Example 6: INDIA

The Constitution of India says in article 30, (I) (quoted in Annamalai 1986a, 147):

"All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice."

This alone (6a) would be *overt maintenance-oriented permission*. But it is followed by (II):

"The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language."

The addition would be *overt non-discrimination prescription*, if it were to stand alone (6b). But taken together with I, the totality (6c) is *covert maintenance-oriented promotion*, but closer towards the overt end of the continuum than those "implicit" decrees where no mention is made of minority languages.

Example 7: AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) AND OTHERS, SOUTH AFRICA

The Freedom Charter of South Africa, adopted in 1955 (quoted in The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, 1986, 157-158), declares:

"We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

...All national groups shall have equal rights!

...All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs..."

This is *overt maintenance-oriented permission*.

Example 8: THE BASQUE NORMALIZATION LAW, BASQUE COUNTRY (Spain)

"1) All citizens of the Basque Country have the right to know and use both official languages.

2) Citizens of the Basque Country have the following fundamental language rights:

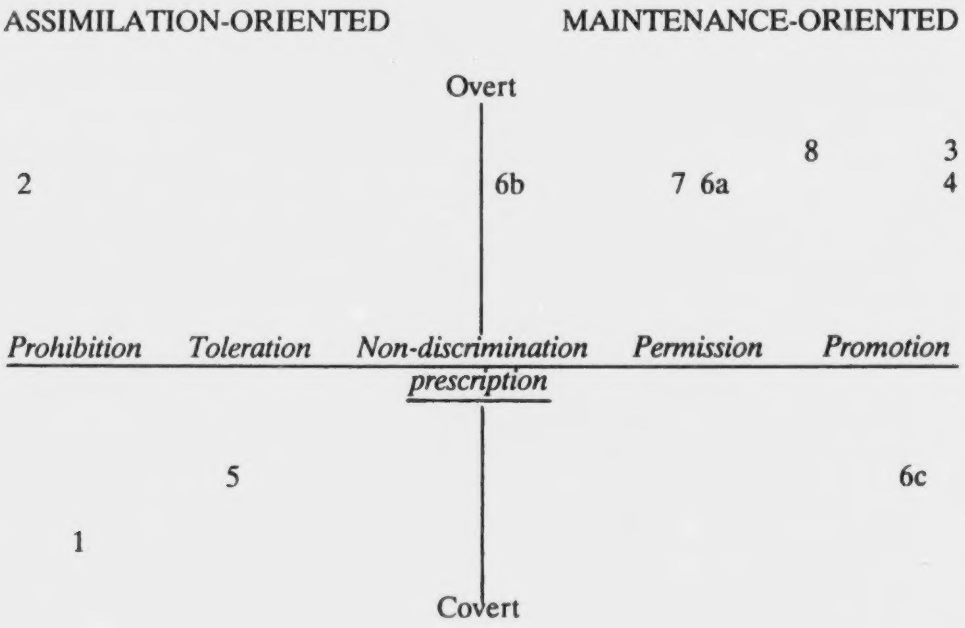
a. The right to use Basque or Castilian orally and/or in writing with the Administration and any organism within the Autonomous Community.

b. The right to education in both official languages. ...

3) The public powers will ensure the exercise of these rights within the territory of the Autonomous Community in order to make them real and effective." (Article 5, quoted in Cobarrubias 1986, 5).

This article, which would be at least *overt maintenance-oriented permission*, if not *promotion*, was vetoed by the central Spanish authorities.

Figure 1 Language rights in selected countries



2.3 The analytical framework in operation: international covenants

In the next section we shall review some international conventions and decrees and place them on our grid, in order to see to what extent they overtly promote minority languages (or the languages of powerless majorities) in education so that these languages can be maintained.

Before starting our review, it should be recalled that international organisations which are responsible for promulgating declarations and international covenants are "international" in the sense that many countries participate in their work. But of course the pattern of global economic and political power is reflected in the work and products of these bodies too. They are not in any way "impartial", "disinterested", "neutral" or "non-political" bodies. The contradictions between the world's different power groups can be seen in the operation of the Security Council and General Assembly of the UN, and in the departure of the USA and Britain from UNESCO when they could no longer impose their will on it. In the same way as the economic sphere is dominated by the transnationals, international organisations are bound to reflect the influence of the dominant nations, which attempt to organize world issues in accordance with their interests. International covenants on human rights need to be seen in this light.

At the same time it is important to remember that the ideological hegemony of the Western capitalist countries contains contradictions between and within these countries themselves. This hegemony is also constantly being contested by other countries or blocs of countries. These contradictions and contestations may also be reflected to at least some extent in the declarations.

The international law of human rights is one example of the spread of the global village over the past century[8]. In earlier periods, no nation had any legal right to be concerned about the internal affairs of another sovereign state. The charters of human rights formulated after the French and American Revolutions are forerunners of the post-1945 conventions on human rights, but made no claim to universal validity. At the Berlin Conference of 1885 there was a condemnation of slavery as being against "the principles of international law". The League of Nations took an interest in humanitarian matters and implemented the first international human rights treaty, the Slavery Convention, in 1926. The peace treaties that concluded the First World War attempted to safeguard the rights of linguistic minorities (roughly 20% of the population of 13 affected countries) by providing for the right of complaint to the League of Nations, which had a minorities secretariat, and the International Court of Justice. This right of appeal proved worthless:

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[8] The analysis of the international law of human rights draws heavily on the information presented in Sieghart 1983.

whereas 204 complaints were filed in 1930-31, only 4 were in 1938-39 (Boudoin & Masse 1973, 19), confirming the impotence of the League of Nations.

It was only after the Second World War, with a wish on the part of the victors to prevent the abuses against human rights perpetrated perfectly legally by fascist regimes, that a major effort to legislate internationally for the protection of human rights was undertaken. In the present world a number of international covenants give individuals rights and duties, and there are international courts to which individuals can appeal. The international covenants enumerate up to 50 distinct rights, which can be roughly categorised as 'civil and political' rights and freedoms, and 'economic, social and cultural' rights. Our concern in what follows is to see in what measure language rights are protected in some of the conventions. The alphabetical letters refer to each convention and will be used in placing the convention on the grid in figure 2.

Example A. THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (1945) commits its member nations to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (paragraph 6.11, 55). This can be understood as *overt non-discrimination prescription.*

Example B. THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (1948), in its paragraph on education (26), does not refer to language. The main thrust of the paragraph is to ensure free universal education. There are references to the "full development of the human personality" and the right of parents to "choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children".

Example C. These rights are expanded in the INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, adopted in 1966 and in force since 1976, which again omits any reference to language:

"13.(1) ... education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

Example D. The UN DECLARATION OF CHILDREN'S RIGHTS, adopted in 1959 (D1), names, among other rights, the child's right to education, security and understanding, protection against exploitation and abuse, but does not refer to language. The new DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD, 1988 (D2), does not mention language in its general article on education (15) either. What is protected is that "... a child ... shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of its group to enjoy its own culture, to profess and practise its own religion or to use its own language." (Article 16 BIS). This non-discrimination prescription allows the minority language in private minority community use.

The absence of any overt mention of language under the education clauses of these covenants is in contrast with the general clauses on non-discrimination, which relate to the exercise of all human rights. For instance, the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS declares in paragraph 2:

"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

This means that the three UN conventions (B, C and D1) have *general* provisions which are apparently an *overt non-discrimination prescription* in relation to linguistic minorities, but the *education* clauses, which is what we are particularly interested in, are no better than *covert assimilation-oriented toleration*. We have though placed D2 somewhat higher, but in restricted contexts, as shown above.

Example E. That the rights are of limited value in supporting language maintenance via education can be seen from litigation in relation to similar rights. THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, adopted in 1950 and in force since 1953, (first protocol, 2) declares:

"No person shall be denied the right to education. In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions."

This has been interpreted by the European Court of Human Rights as only meaning that subjects have the right to avail themselves of the means of instruction available at a given time, and not to have any particular type of education established. Although the clause cited does not specify the language in which education must be conducted, in order that the right to education should be respected, the European Court observed that "this right would be meaningless if it did not imply ... the right to be educated in the national language, or in one of the national languages, as the case may be" (Sieghart 1983, 249, reporting the "Belgian Linguistic Case"). This appears to give the state the right to decide what languages education should be offered in, hence which languages should be maintained and which should not, irrespective of minority wishes. So far as the language rights of minorities are concerned, the provision represents *covert assimilation-oriented toleration*.

The European Court added that for the right to education to be effective, "it is also necessary that the individual who is the beneficiary should have the possibility of drawing profit from the education received" (ibid, 249). This is specified as meaning "the right to obtain...official recognition of the studies... completed", ie the right to credentials. This ruling is highly relevant for the Gávppi court case, described in detail later. The European Court ruling has affinities with the American Supreme Court case of *Lau* v. *Nichols*, in which students of Chinese ancestry claimed that the San Francisco Unified School District failed in its obligation to provide adequate education for them. The Supreme Court ruled that "Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education" (quoted in Center for Applied Linguistics 1977, 7). The court's finding was that the school board failed in its obligation to provide the Chinese group with equality of benefits from education, and that this was in defiance of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The court avoided pronouncing on whether there was also an offence against the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.

The significance of this and many similar court cases on bilingual education issues in the USA is that it is possible for individual rights, guaranteed by the state, to be enforced at the appropriate level. Indeed a review of legal aspects of bilingual education in the USA concludes that in that country "litigation has served, and will continue to serve, as a necessary strategy for educational reform" (ibid, 40).

As the description of the Belgian Linguistic Case indicated, there is also the possibility for citizens of the European countries which are signatories to certain conventions to appeal to an international tribunal in order to enforce their human rights. In addition, UNESCO has had since 1978 a procedure for considering violations of human rights within UNESCO's field of competence. However, the procedure is confidential, a complainant does not have any opportunity of seeing, or commenting on, a respondent government's reply, and only the respondent government, and not the complainant, can appear before the UNESCO committee when it considers a complaint either as to admissibility or on the merits. As of 1 January 1982, UNESCO had not published any details of complaints or action taken as a result (Sieghart 1983, 436). In view of our analysis of the education clauses of UN covenants, it would appear a foregone conclusion that complaints about assimilation policies would fail, as they probably would at the European Court of Human Rights.

Example F. On the initiative of the *European Parliament*, the *"European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages"* was established in 1982 with the task of promoting the languages and cultures of indigenous minority groups (which they estimate at roughly 30 million people). Immigrant minorities are not a concern of the Bureau. A resolution (the Arfe resolution) of the European Parliament of 16 October 1981 urges national and regional authorities to promote the use of minority languages in three main areas, education, mass communications, and public life and social affairs. Specifically in the domain of education, they are urged to"

– to promote and take steps to ensure that the teaching of regional languages and cultures is included in official curricula right through from nursery school to university;

– to provide, in response to needs expressed by the population, for teaching in schools of all levels and grades to be carried out in regional languages, with particular emphasis being placed on nursery school teaching so as to ensure that the child is able to speak its mother tongue;

– to allow teaching of the literature and history of the communities concerned to be included in all curricula." (excerpted from the resolution, reproduced in the bulletin of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, *Contact*, 1, November 1983, 2).

The Bureau and a number of European parliamentarians are pressing for the adoption by the European Parliament of a European Charter of Rights for minorities and regional languages, the aim of which is to "safeguard the historical, cultural and linguistic heritage" of such groups. The Arfe resolution was couched in terms of "urging" and "inviting" a course of action, and has not made any significant impression on the member governments. A new resolution (the Kuijpers resolution) was adopted by the European Parliament in October 1987. It recommends that member states actively promote minority languages in education, local administration, and the mass media (*Contact*, 4/3, 1987-8, 1). This is a step towards furthering a climate in which the practical suggestions and declarations of the Arfe resolution may be implemented in full.

Example G. The *European Parliament* has adopted *a resolution on the use of languages in the community* (Official Journal of the European Communities, no C 127/139, 1984). The resolution aims at strengthening the teaching of foreign languages throughout the community and improving the quality of teaching, translating and interpreting. It

"1. Reaffirms the principle that all languages and the cultures which they express have an intrinsic value;

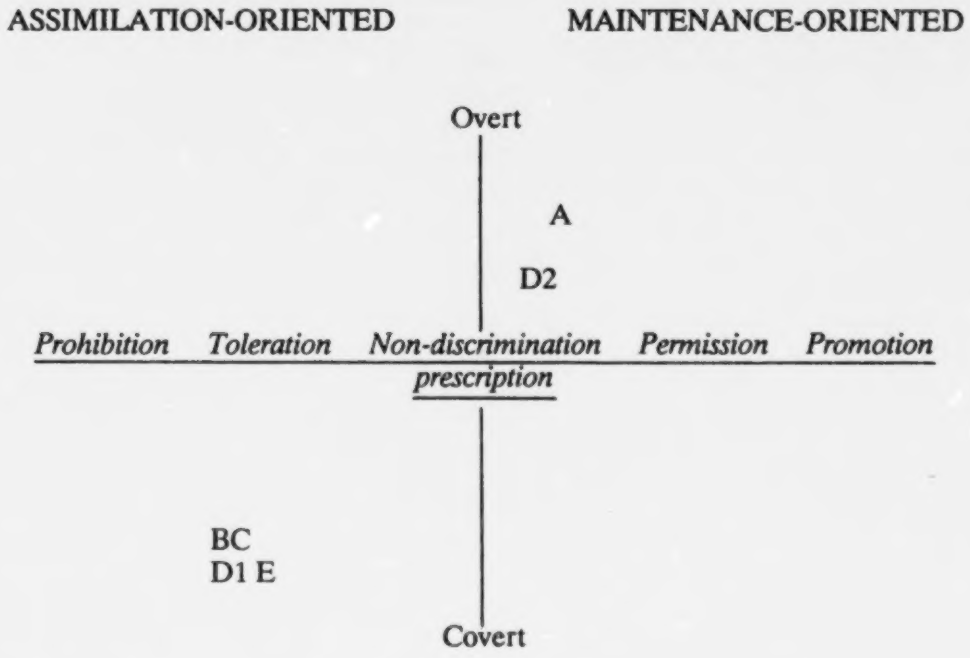
2. Reaffirms the right of each individual to express himself freely in his own language or in the language of his choice;

3. Stresses the importance of combating illiteracy;

4. Asks for all measures at Community and Member State level aimed at promoting the use of Community languages to be encouraged..."

The European Parliament stresses the need for the full implementation of the European Economic Community Directive on the teaching of the language of the host country and the mother tongues of migrants. This document is fraught with difficulties of interpretation and implementation (see the description of the origins of the directive and discussion in Tosi 1984, 14). It is unclear whether the EEC intends the directive as "an embryonic 'enriching' model for the promotion of EEC languages in the modern languages cur-

Figure 2 Language rights in international covenants



ricula of member states, or as a compensatory measure for the underprivileged" and its effects will remain unclear until "governments make a definite pronouncement on their interpretation and define their policies for its implementation" (ibid, 17). The same uncertainty holds for the European Parliament resolution in question. It is formulated in general terms, which express *overt maintenance-oriented permission*, and logically this should apply to all minority languages. However it is the languages which function at state and EEC level which were the main concern of the preparatory studies prior to the adoption of the resolution. A primary motive was to limit the dominance of English and to encourage multilingualism and parity between the languages of the community (European Parliament Working Document 1–83/84/B). In the final reckoning it is the individual member states which decide on policies for minority languages, and it is an open question whether they will bow to international pressure of the kind that European Parliament resolutions represent.

We can now plot the international covenants and resolutions reviewed here onto our chart (figure 2, above).

As can be seen, the European resolutions (F & G) go considerably further in attempting to secure rights for minority languages than do the UN Charter (A) and UN Covenants (B,C & Ds). However, the resolutions have no legal force in individual countries, meaning there is no remedy in the case of their non-enforcement other than political pressure, national and international. Part of that pressure must come from the scientific community which is in a position to assemble relevant data and synthesis.

Some members of the scientific community have started this work. Gomes de Matos has made a plea for for the drafting and adoption of a *"Declaration of the Individual's Language Rights"* for use in "the struggle against linguistic prejudice, discrimination, rejection, and other forms of language-based or language-related injustice and oppression which unfortunately manifest themselves on a world-wide basis in such contexts as the home, the school, and the place of work or of play". Such a Declaration should lead to "a person's full enjoyment of his or her expressive-communicative rights, privileges and responsibilities during lifelong language-using experiences." (Gomes de Matos 1984)[9]. He points out that sociolinguists, language planners and language pedagogues are frugal in their coverage of the linguistic rights of language learners (Gomes de Matos 1985, 1986a).

Gomes de Matos' proposed Declaration is relatively detailed. The latest formulation (Gomes de Matos 1986b) contains two separate listings, one of the linguistic rights of mother tongue learners, one of the linguistic rights of second/foreign language learners. He has therefore added a new dimension to linguistic rights, namely the right of all, in other words the majority group are covered too, to learn another language, to become bilingual. The focus in some of the rights on classroom learning conditions and styles is also novel and pedagogically challenging.

The professional associations of language teachers advocate more foreign language teaching, and stress the role of these in increasing "international understanding" (see for instance FIPLV World News, 41, June 1986, and activities of the Council of Europe's modern language teaching and peace studies programme), but there has as yet been little attention to linguistic rights.

We are therefore compelled to conclude that it is a MYTH that the Western world has come far in guaranteeing (educational) linguistic rights to minorities. Countries where linguistic rights legislation is placed in the upper left section of our chart, i.e. overt assimilation-oriented prohibition, are openly linguicist. There are often racist overtones in the policy. Such situations are fairly clear-cut. What may be trickier to perceive and/or analyse is the degree of linguicism in firstly, situations of covert assimilation-oriented prohibition, and secondly, in all the measures stipulating toleration and non-discrimination, regardless of their degree of overtness. For light to be thrown on this, we have to look, both theoretically and empirically, at the increasingly subtle forms that linguicism takes. This can be seen in descriptions of how linguistic rights in education have been and are still denied to linguistic minority children.

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[9] Gomes de Matos has received support from distinguished members of the international scientific community (Bolinger, Chomsky, Crystal, Giles, Hymes, Partee, Sebeok).

CHAPTER 3. HOW EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTIC RIGHTS ARE DENIED: THE SAMI IN NORWAY

3.1 Linguicism continuum

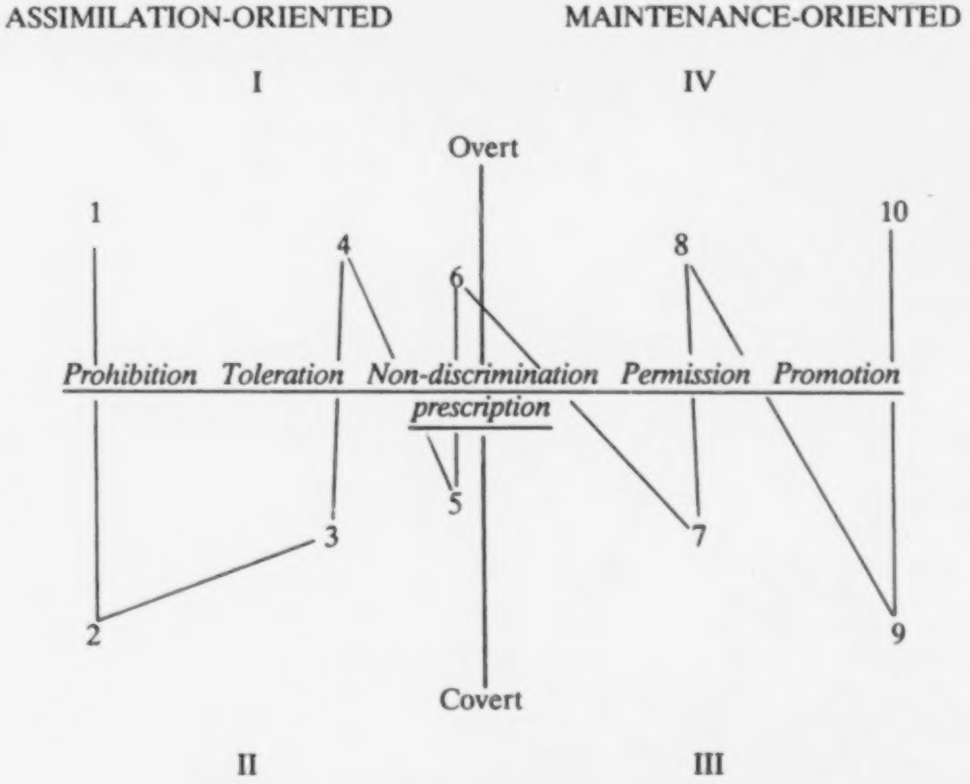
We claim that there is a *developmental continuum* from oppressing to supporting minority children's educational linguistic rights (and the theoretical justification for this is examined in more detail when refuting myth 2). The continuum starts in the upper left hand corner of the first quadrant in our grid, in overt prohibition of minority mother tongues. The second phase is in the lower left hand corner of the quadrant in figure 3, in covert prohibition. Then it continues towards the centre of quadrant II, towards covert toleration, and goes up to overt toleration in quadrant I. The following phase is non-discrimination prescription, again the covert one first (some people may have a moral revulsion against doing wrong when discriminating, but those who do discriminate cannot be sued) and the overt one later. Through permission, first covert and later overt, the continuum proceeds to covert and overt promotion in, respectively, quadrant III and IV.

This development does of course not proceed by itself. It parallels closely economic and political developments. All the changes and concessions in this development represent an attempt by the dominant group to reconstitute and maintain their hegemony, which is constantly contested by the dominated groups. Of course representing the dynamics as a continuum does *not* entail any kind of belief in a smooth evolutionary development either. Clearly there has to be a revolutionary transformation before any kind of real change in power relations between minorities and majorities can happen (see Chris Mullard's analyses, especially 1985). Dominance on the basis of language not only permits control of the means of communication and of success in the education system, where language is the main instrument. It also entails a monopoly of defining legitimate knowledge and skills. In fact the dominance by means of language which is the goal of linguicism attempts to create and perpetuate a monopoly of legitimate definitions of social reality.

The development of the forces of production, the need for an increase in the division and differentiation of labour and thus increased demands for higher qualifications in the labour force, and the constant conflicts which have to be contained, have necessitated some concessions. Since physical coercion and other overt conflict solutions are in many situations uneconomical means of maintaining hegemony, more covert solutions have been sought. These solutions have implied giving more rights to dominated languages in education. But at the same time there has been a reordering of the old parameters which are decisive for educational hierarchisation. In addition, new parameters have been added, so that the net outcome (relative benefits from education) for dominant and dominated groups has not changed. (Of course the same processes of linguicism are also at work in relation to regional and class varieties, dialects and sociolects, but linguicism is more poignant in relation to differences between languages as opposed to differences between variants of the same language).

We shall see in the next section to what extent this theoretical development can be traced in real life situations, and how the differences affect possible strategies and resistance to combat linguicism.

Figure 3 The development from open to hidden linguicism to anti-linguicism



3.2 Tracing the history and forms of linguicism

Here we will trace the development from open to hidden linguicism in descriptions of the education of dominated linguistic minority groups. Since it is only possible here to cover the topic briefly, our approach is to analyse one case, namely the education of the Sami and, to some extent, the Kvens (the Finnish-speaking population in northern Norway), in some depth, and to quote extracts documenting similar experience elsewhere as we progress through the case and along the linguicism continuum. These will show the extent to which we are dealing with worldwide phenomena. Some of the short quotes may be difficult to grasp fully when so little context is provided, but we hope they will illustrate the striking similarity in the principles which characterize linguicism in quite diverse contexts. In order to place the measures and examples on our linguistic rights developmental continuum, we indicate by numbers where appropriate where we would place the description or quote. To make comparison easier, we give the numerical list also verbally in table 1 below, before starting on our narrative:

Table 1 *The linguistic rights developmental continuum*

(1) overt prohibition
(2) covert prohibition
(3) covert toleration
(4) overt toleration
(5) covert non-discrimination prescription
(6) overt non-discrimination prescription
(7) covert permission
(8) overt permission
(9) covert promotion
(10) overt promotion

3.3 The assimilationist goal

The Sami are indigenous inhabitants of Norway, while the Finns started to arrive as immigrants as far back as in the late middle ages. There was a large immigration in the 1700s, and especially between 1830-1870 (Eriksen & Niemi 1981, 30-31), when there was famine in Finland. Another factor was that Norway (and Sweden) wanted to "populate" the "cold and unfriendly" northern areas and teach agriculture to the nomadic Sami. Norway was then a Swedish colony in a union which lasted from 1814 to 1905. Before that Norway was a Danish colony. An imagined threat from Russia (which had become Norway and Sweden's closest neighbour in 1809, when Finland became a Russian Grand Duchy after 650 years as a Swedish colony), was one of the main reasons both for wanting to populate the northern areas and for the norwegianisation (and swedification, on the Swedish side) of the Sami and the Kven/Finnish population.

We will look specifically at the use of Sami and Finnish in schools. Boarding schools were widely used in the northern areas up to the second "world" war. The goal was to assimilate the children by separating them from their parents and placing them in the environment of the dominant language. In 1938/39 3,000 children, 36% of the primary and lower secondary children in the northernmost county, Finnmark, where the Sami and the Kven lived, were in boarding schools (Lind Meloy 1980, 81, hereafter abbreviated LM). Boarding schools can represent (1) or (2), overt or covert prohibition, depending on whether the mother tongue was allowed or not (one important factor being whether the teachers knew the language or not).

> In the USA "The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates 77 boarding schools, scattered throughout the nation...Some 35,000 children are sent to boarding schools...In 1966, more than 16,000 Indian children of school age were not attending any school at all" (Cahn & Hearne 1969, 28). For the children, this was "a Trail of Tears, a form of compulsory and permanent expatriation... In Alaska... Indian children are shipped as far away as Oklahoma, 6,000 miles from their parents... Once in a boarding school, the children are effectively cut off from their families...Permission to see one's own parent is not a "right". It is often granted as a reward for good behavior - or denied as a form of punishment" (ibid., 32-33). (1) and sometimes (2).

> "In the case of Australian Aborigines, residential schools were unashamedly seen as the best means of removing children from the influence of their parents. Many children, taken from their parents,

> completely lost touch with them and in later years set out on a traumatic search for their families. For many, if not most of these people, schooling away from home is remembered as a searing experience, the designation in conversation most often used being 'cruel'." (Jordan 1986). (1)

It was an officially stated goal of these schools to norwegianise the children. LM, who was himself the headmaster of one of the boarding schools, writes (LM, 14): "The building of the boarding schools and the norwegianisation of Finnmark are closely bound together. Norwegianisation was the goal, and the building of the boarding schools was the means. Both were part of Norwegian educational policy in Finnmark". In a debate in the Parliament on 15 March 1901, an MP called Opdahl said that "it was only through the primary school that the Norwegian language can be spread" (quoted in LM, 27). The work of the boarding schools was praised by the central educational authorities: "It has been shown that the boarding schools are excellently suited to the promotion of Norwegianness, therefore we must try to get as many such schools as possible in the areas under consideration" (quoted in LM, 52-53). In the process of norwegianisation it was the goal of many school administrators that the Sami languages should become extinct (e.g. Bernt Thomassen, Superintendent for schools 1902-1920, LM, 98-99). The few supporters of these languages, like Hans Vogt, later Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oslo, were under no delusions about what the goal of official policy was. Vogt wrote in 1902 (LM 106) that "Norwegianisation has been victorious, a policy which means purely and simply an intentional extinction of the Sami and Finnish languages".

> "For nearly a hundred years the policy of the United States government was to acculturate the Navajo, so that the Navajo could be assimilated into the White society. To effect this assimilation Navajo children were taken from the shelter of the family and sent to boarding school." (Platero 1975, 57).

> "One of the reasons why they began to build boarding schools in 1964 was that they wanted to prevent the children from having contact with their parents. By isolating them in schools far away from their parents for the greater part of the year the authorities hoped to make the children forget their Kurdish." (a description of Turkish Kurdistan, in Clason & Baksi 1979, 75, quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas 1984a, 310). (1).

> "In the Finnish-speaking areas the child workhouses had a special significance as institutions for swedification, the absolute best of the kind... Primary school teaching in the Finnish-speaking areas had a clear goal: to teach the children the Swedish language, Swedish customs and Swedish culture...Through according the Swedish language a monopoly in the school, the Torne valley Finns, a backward and culturally undernourished people, would share the Swedish culture. That the Finnish culture had its own value was not known or recognised" (Lundemark 1980, 114, 100, 125) (1) and (2).

"Exclusively the French language is taught...Teaching the native children through the medium of French the moral, religious and vocational subjects that they get in the mission schools has a most favourable influence, because they are by this means brought to take over our customs and habits and to accept our authority." (a French official in Gabon 1864, quoted in Moussirou-Mouyama 1985, 79). (1) or (2).

The purpose of minority education in the United States is still assimilation but the formulation of this goal is in terms of permission to use the mother tongue. "... the basic Federal policy concerns ... recognize the need to prepare language-minority children to function successfully in an English-speaking nation. A programme that produces mediocre English performance while maintaining the home language skills will be judged a worse programme than one that produces better second language performance while ignoring home language skills. The justification for this viewpoint is that in the United States any successful education programme must prepare the students to participate in an English- speaking society. Therefore, the overriding concern in evaluating instruction for bilingual students is how well they learn English." (Baker/de Kanter 1982, 5, our emphasis) (7). This "English-speaking" nation has over 30 million inhabitants with mother tongues other than English.

"Migrant children ... by being allowed to assimilate and incorporate ... will with time become good Swedes" (Paulston 1983, 65, in a report to the Swedish National Board of Education, implying that migrant children want to assimilate, even linguistically). (7) One researcher she draws support from advocates linguicism in pluralist Sweden: "for some immigrant children, the optimum (in L1) might well be to keep the level a bit above the risk level for complete decay" (Ekstrand 1978, 11) (4).

3.4 Self-glorification, and degradation of the uncivilised

Of course all this was done with the best of motives, i.e. it was rationalised. Bernt Thomassen wrote in a letter to the Ministry of Education in 1917: "In norwegianisation - and its implementation as speedily as possible - I see not only a national mission, but just as much a question of the welfare of the majority of the Sami and Finnish people in Northern Norway. Via norwegianisation the road can lead to development and success for them too." (LM 100).

The following statement was made by a senior welfare officer in Sweden in the mid-1970s, about a Lovara Romani boy: " We want to give these children the best our society can offer them, but their parents tell us they want to keep their children. We should like to have the chance to take these children away from their families, but we cannot do it. N, for example, lived for six months with a Swedish family and everything worked perfectly. The boy, who speaks only Swedish, has now gone back

> to his Gipsy parents... We thought his behaviour would begin to improve in his foster home and we tried to persuade the parents to give up their child, but they refused." (Marta 1979, 33). (2).

In order to legitimate the assimilation, the dominant population, its language and culture had to be seen as superior and the dominated ones as inferior: the civilisation mission. A parish priest called Tandberg wrote in 1904 to the Superintendent for Schools that "the reason for the instruction not having much effect is, beside truancy, degeneration, a low cultural level and weak mental capacities, physical and mental stultification" (quoted in LM, 39-40). Another Superintendent for Schools, Christen Andreas Brygfjeld, wrote in 1923 about the Sami that "those few individuals who still exist of the original Sami tribe are now so much degenerated that there is little hope of any change for the better for them. They are hopeless, are probably the most backward and most miserable group in Finnmark, and from them comes the largest contingent from this area to mental hospitals and schools for the mentally retarded." (quoted in LM 103-104).

> "Teachers think of Turkish children as stupid because they cannot understand complex relationships - there is no one to explain the complexity to them in Turkish" (about Turkish children in the Federal Republic of Germany, in FİDEF 1978, 18). (2)
>
> "The organisation of the schooling often assumed that the indigenous peoples were incapable of learning... they were stereotyped as dependent, lazy, lacking in initiative" (Jordan 1986, referring to the Canadian natives, the Sami and Australian Aborigines).
>
> A British Africanist considers as a crucial issue the question of "how the state seeks to manage the transition from an elite secondary system (where high quality English can be guaranteed) to "a mass secondary system (where there will necessarily be many children intellectually unable to cope with a foreign language)" (King 1986, 451). (3).
>
> COMMENT: Any children with a "normal" IQ can cope with foreign languages. According to several studies (reviewed in Genesee 1976) on English-speaking children in French-language immersion programmes in Canada, neither working class children nor children with special language difficulties had any difficulty in coping with the foreign language (in addition to developing their English). In the large secondary pupils' survey in Tanzania in 1970 (reported in Hill 1986) which was a representative sample (20 percent, randomly selected) of the entire first year secondary population in the country, the *average* number of languages known by the pupils (self-report) was 5. There was not one single one who claimed to be monolingual, and only 3% only claimed knowledge of as little as 2 languages. Thus 97% of the secondary pupils could cope with 3 or more languages. Maybe Tanzanians are more "intellectually able" than the secondary pupils that King perhaps, in mono- lingual Britain, takes as the norm ...

> "a people spiritually and physically undernourished... the soul of the people dulled into sluggishness and inertia" (Lundemark 1980, 114). This was said about the Finns and the Sami in Sweden in 1915.
>
> "On the basis of historical facts, we see ourselves as the members of the victorious and superior race and you as members of the beaten and inferior race" . This was the explanation given by the director of a large American company, Ronald Vertress, when refusing to employ "Indians" (Ny Tid 10.7.1986)

Brygfjeld continues, and here we see the cause shining through: "The Sami people have no capacity to rise to a higher cultural level themselves without taking the road through the Norwegian language and Norwegian culture" (ibid, 103).

But the problem is not only that the Sami and Kven *cultures* are deficient: "The Lapps have had neither the capacity nor the wish to use their language as a written language." (Brygfjeld, quoted in Eriksen & Niemi 1981, 258).

> C.P.Hill reports that pupils in the Secondary Pupils' Survey in Tanzania claim high rates for using English for counting and doing sums. In discussing the influence of mathematics being taught through the medium of English he says: "...many of (the mathematical) concepts virtually anglicized even in Swahili - items like "graph", and "axis" and "origin" having no real Swahili equivalents but requiring lengthy circumlocutions, so the English forms are used" (Hill 1986, 255).
>
> COMMENT: We could with equal justification say: "...many of the mathematical concepts virtually latinized/greekified even in English - items like "graph", and "axis" and "origin" having no real English equivalents but requiring lengthy circumlocutions, so the Latin or Greek forms are used. And this after English has had centuries to develop its own concepts, it still has not managed but relies on concepts borrowed from Latin and Greek." One possibly less linguicist way of saying it might be: like many other languages, among them English, Swahili has also borrowed some of its mathematical concepts from Greek and Latin and uses "graph", "axis" and "origin", but without distorting the Greek and Latin pronunciation of these words the way English does...

In the following two quotes we see the same civilising mission from two opposite sides: who is to civilise whom to what?

"The Lapps must learn the Norwegian language so that all the goods, spiritual and material, that our country's development has brought our people, can also reach them and in this way they can be raised from the essentially low stage of societal development that they are at...The Lapp people are a race of children in more than one sense. As a people, they are at the child's direct, naive, undeveloped stage, and the purpose of norwegianisation is to bring them forward to the maturity of the adult - if this is possible at all. This is a great and lasting goal to work for" (the rector of Varanger, in a letter to his bishop, 10 Dec 1886, quoted in Eriksen & Niemi 1981, 57).

> "You will forgive me if I tell you that my people were Americans for thousands of years before your people were. The question is not how you can Americanize us but how we can Americanize you. We have been working at that for a long time. Sometimes we are discouraged at the results. But we will keep trying. And the first thing we want to teach you is that, in the American way of life, each man has respect for his brother's vision. Because each of us respected his brother's dream, we enjoyed freedom here in America while your people were busy killing and enslaving each other across the water. The relatives you left behind are still trying to kill each other because they have not learned there that freedom is built on my respect for my brother's vision and his respect for mine. We have a hard trail ahead of us in trying to Americanize you and your white brothers. But we are not afraid of hard trails." (Cohen (ed) 1960, 315-316).

> "The integrated approach of France's 'mission civilisatrice', in which the political and economic exploitation of its colonies were closely linked to educational policy, was contingent on the exclusive use of French as the embodiment of French civilisation and culture...A new emphasis in France's 'missions de cooperation' in Francophone Africa ...it was widely accepted that the survival of French in Africa was contingent on the evolution of a more complementary relationship with national languages... This enlightened policy change seems expedient in circumstances where national language education programmes do not seriously threaten the position of French" (Treffgarne 1986, 144, 155, 156). (From (1) to (8-9)).

3.5 The language of instruction

How was the norwegianisation to be achieved in the boarding schools then? The question of the language of instruction was, of course, central. For a couple of centuries the Sami language was used to some extent in schools, and some teaching materials existed, in addition to the obligatory religious literature. Finnish had a well developed literature with ample supplies of teaching materials - in Finland. There was a Sami Teacher Training College at the beginning of the 18th century (10) but in 1727 the missionaries were given orders to teach Sami children in Norwegian (2). There were a couple of short periods when the use of Sami was allowed again (4).

The really harsh norwegianisation policy set in with the School Law of 1880 (which has been called the "Magna Carta of Norwegianisation", LM 17). This says in para 3: "Instruction in the school is in the Norwegian language. The Sami or Finnish languages are used only as a means of helping to explain what is impossible to understand for the children". Every paragraph after this comes with detailed instructions on how to restrain the use of Sami and

Finnish. "Even if the majority of the children in a group do not understand Norwegian, the teacher must always keep the above regulations in mind and remember that it is imperative that the Lappish and Finnish languages are not used more than absolutely necessary...When the teacher converses with the children to make them understand, use of the Lappish or Finnish language must be avoided as much as possible; it should be noted in particular that whole sentences and continuous passages of the Norwegian text must not be translated into Lappish or Finnish unless it is has been shown that this cannot be avoided without harm to comprehension." (LM 122-123). The total effect is overt assimilation-oriented toleration, (4).

It is instructive to compare this with the policy offered to children in Africa and Asia almost 100 years later, in the pedagogical tradition which still dominates English teaching:

> "The teaching of vocabulary should be mainly through demonstration in situations. When, however, a very brief explanation in the mother tongue is sufficient to ensure that the meaning is fully and accurately understood, such explanation may be given." (Makerere Report 1961, 13, a report of the Commonwealth conference on the teaching of English as a second language, probably the most influential document on policy and methods for teaching English in ex-colonial countries) (4). For analysis of the monolingual approach in teaching English as a foreign/second language see Phillipson 1986, chapter 5.

It was not until 1959 that a School Law permitted the use of Sami as the medium of education, but even according to these regulations the Department of Education has to grant permission, i.e. it is not an unconditional right (8).

It was also important for the central and local authorities to control in a more detailed manner whether the teachers really refrained from the use of Sami and Finnish. According to Karl Aas, Superintendent for Schools, in a communication to the Department of Education in 1899, there were many people who thought that the time had come to forbid the use of Sami and Finnish as auxiliary languages (1). "In addition to the teachers, competent men like the business people and civil servants have here voiced that opinion" (LM 21). Most of these were Norwegians. One of the Heads of Department in the Ministry had suggested in 1877 that only "Norwegian" teachers should be appointed (LM 19). This was done on the grounds that "experience seems to have shown that teachers of pure or mixed Sami or Finnish ancestry are not capable of advancing the Norwegianisation among their compatriots with the success hoped for" (LM 19). It was also said that the teachers and the staff in the boarding schools were to be "nationally minded" (Eriksen & Niemi 1981, 257). When the first Sami MP, Isak Saba, who was a teacher himself, raised the issue in the parliament in 1906, suggesting that the word "Norwegian" should be changed to "competent" or the like, with the motivation that he and other Sami and Finnish teachers felt that it was wounding for them that race should be decisive when teachers were appointed, several speakers pointed out that "Norwegian" could be interpreted as "teachers who knew Norwegian", and that nobody thought of race... In 1931 the then Superintendent wrote that it was "completely unnecessary for teachers in Finnmark to have any education in Sami or Finnish" (LM 27) (2).

3.6 Positive and negative reinforcement

From 1851 onwards until 1920s there were funds in the state budget specifically earmarked for norwegianisation. Teachers could get a supplement to their salary from these funds if they could document good results in teaching Norwegian to the Sami and Kven children. Children received grants if they showed good competence in Norwegian, and poor Kven and Sami parents could be given money for food and clothes if they showed a "positive attitude" by sending their children to the Norwegian school (Eriksen & Niemi 1981, 48, 53). Thus *positive reinforcement of the majority language was used at the same time as negative reinforcement of the mother tongue* (7). This policy was a general one: radio licenses were cheaper in the Finnish- and Sami-speaking areas than in other parts of Norway (ibid., 245), and books, newspapers and journals in Norwegian were distributed free of charge, while there were severe restrictions on, for instance, books imported from Finland. People were suspected of lacking loyalty to Norway if they read such unpatriotic literature (ibid., 239). The same was true on the Swedish side of the border too: books and journals in Swedish were distributed free of charge, while the library of Torne} was overtly forbidden to buy Finnish books until 1957 (ibid., 241). All this positive reinforcement followed after a long period of negative reinforcement, when it was insisted that civil servants and traders should not use Sami or Finnish, on pain of losing their jobs (ibid., 252-253), when Kven and Sami were not allowed to buy land, etc. (ibid, 73-76).

> "Indians were forced to try to live like "white men". Indian dances and Indian hand work was forbidden. A family's ration of food was cut off if anyone in the family was caught singing Indian songs or doing Indian hand craft. Children were physically beaten if they were caught speaking Indian languages" (Cahn & Hearne 1969, 18). (1).

The distinctive Sami singing tradition, *joik*, was forbidden too. Today, when some schools in Norway still have rules banning them, some majority-group Norwegian teachers have tried to get the rules changed and promote *joik* (9). But now it is some Sami parents who do not want *joik*. The message has been effectively internalised over centuries by a minority of the parents (Gaski 1986). But even when the language may not be overtly forbidden, a prolonged experience like the one below leads to the same result:

> "The neglect of a child's mother tongue at school is a form of national discrimination. The Turkish child must know German in order to make

> herself understood, at least to some extent, at school; but no German need learn any Turkish. It does not even occur to the teachers that they should learn to pronounce correctly the names of the Turkish children they teach for years on end, even while they are scolding them for their inadequate grasp of German. The Turkish child will, of course, know Turkish (more or less), but knowing Turkish is "worth nothing", and the child gets no credit for it, no acknowledgement." (FİDEF, 1978, 18, about Turkish children in the Federal Republic of Germany).

> "After a few years the children no longer want to know their parents. The children are forbidden to speak Kurdish at school. They are taught that the Kurds are dirty and primitive. And when they go home to their villages they tell their parents that now they are Turks and don't want primitive Kurdish parents. They want their parents to start speaking Turkish and being civilised." (Clason & Baksi 1979, 75-76, quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas 1984a, 312).

Part of the effectiveness of boarding schools is that even the out-of-school behaviour of the children can be controlled. One of the headmasters issued the following regulations:

"a) Do not speak Sami or Finnish in your free time.

b) Do not go shopping or anywhere else without permission.

c) No boys in the girls' room or girls in the boys' room after 8 o'clock in the evening

d) Do not urinate on the stairs or along the walls of the house" (LM 68) (1).

Speaking one's mother tongue was the easiest way for all these children to express themselves - most of them knew no Norwegian when they came to school. This was described by an observer, Bishop Skaar, in 1888:

"It was awful to see how these lively children had been strangled by unfortunate instruction. Their tongues were so fluent in the informal discussions (in their own languages, our remark), but stuttering and hampered in the lessons" (quoted in LM 20).

When a ban on speaking one's mother tongue is put as the first commandment, speaking it is made to seem comparable with either "other" grave sins like killing (you are a bad person if you do it, and God does not like you) or else it was turned into something uncivilised, like urinating where you are not supposed to. Even if the children had not been physically punished for speaking their own language (corporal punishment *was* in fact used) the message would have got through.

> In the child workhouses one of the jobs of the boys was chopping wood. Once a ten-year-old drove the axe into his knee, which started bleeding

profusely. He swore in Finnish and started crying. Rather than seeing to his knee, all the children were lined up to have their ears boxed because Finnish had been used. (Tage Ranängen, now lecturer at the University of Luleå, Sweden, one of the children, personal communication).

"In Kenya, English became much more than a language: it was *the* language, and all the others had to bow before it in deference. Thus one of the most humiliating experiences was to be caught speaking Gikuyu in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was given corporal punishment – three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks – or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with the inscription: I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY. Sometimes the culprits were fined money they could hardly afford. And how did the teachers catch them? A button was initially given to on person who was supposed to hand it over to whoever was caught speaking his mother tongue. Whoever had the button at the end of the day was the culprit. Thus children were turned into witch-hunters and in the process were taught the lucrative value of being a traitor to one's immediate community. The attitude to English was the exact opposite: any achievement in spoken or written English was highly rewarded." (Ngũgĩ 1985, 112). (1)

In French colonies there was a comparable system: "a small object...was passed from pupil to pupil if they accidentally expressed themselves in their mother tongue rather than French. The pupil left with it at the end of the day would be punished." (references quoted in Treffgarne 1986, 163). (1)

"I was seven when I started in the first grade in 1962. My sister, who was a year older, started school at the same time. We didn't know a word of Turkish when we started, so one felt totally mute during the first few years. We were not allowed to speak Kurdish during the breaks either but had to play silent games with stones and things like that. The teachers watched us all the time in the playground. Anyone who spoke Kurdish was punished. The teachers hit us on the fingertips or on our heads with a ruler. It hurt terribly. That's why we were always frightened at school and didn't want to go" (Clason & Baksi 1979, 79, quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas 1984a, 310).

"One boy from one of the remote villages in the vicinity of Junosuando expressed his opinion of the workhouses like this: "The workhouse is a hell's smith" (in Finnish, our remark)... He was probably thinking of the arduous drudgery, but he got no chance to develop his thought. He was beaten up because of swearing. It didn't help matters that he swore in Finnish" (Lundemark 1980, 87-88).

"Kee was sent to boarding school as a child where – as was the practice – he was punished for speaking Navajo. Since he was only allowed to return home during Christmas and summer, he lost contact with his family. Kee withdrew both from the White and Navajo worlds as he grew older, because he could not comfortably communicate in either language. He became one of the many thousand Navajos who were non-lingual – a man without a language. By the time he was 16, Kee was an alcoholic, uneducated and despondent – without identity. Kee's story is more the rule rather than the exception." (Platero 1975, 58).

3.7 Linguicism portrayed in creative writing

There are innumerable literary portrayals of the experience of minority children, both indigenous and immigrant. They are often written by the minority members themselves. A recurrent central theme is being forced to use the foreign majority language, and not being able to use the mother tongue. We will finish the descriptive section with an extract from one such author:

Johannes MARAINEN "grew up in Saarivuoma, one of the Sami villages within Kiruna, in northernmost Sweden. It is no use to look for this village on the maps, it isn't there. Sami villages are of no interest to the Swedes, they exist in reality only for us Sami. Actually they are not villages but large areas within which groups of Sami move with their reindeer" (Marainen 1988, 179). Johannes Marainen now works as a researcher for the Sami Instituhhta. The following extracts come from a short story called "Returning to Sami identity" (1988, pp. 179-185).

"As a child I had the opportunity to live and grow in an intact Sami environment. All of us in my village depended solely on our herds of reindeer, and our way of living was still fairly uninfluenced by the Swedish society. We had our own language and our own culture and lived our own lives.

When I started school I took my first step away from my Sami environment... I went to first grade in a summer- or tent school. The school looked exactly like my own home. It was a tent, made of canvas, stretched over tall slender birch poles with an opening for the smoke in the middle. We sat on boughs around the open fire with a slate or a book on our outstretched legs...

Thus our schooling was fit to Sami life, but I am sorry to say, that it was only the organized part that was fit. Culturally and linguistically the school was a shock to me. "Mother tongue" was the domineering subject during the first school years, but I did not understand until much later that "tongue" means language. The word "mother tongue" did not mean anything to me, I just accepted that it meant Swedish. "Eatnangiella", my mother's language, it definitely was not.

Like all the other beginners I did not understand a single word of the "mother tongue" and it would take many years before I was able to speak it. During school time we were not allowed to use our own language, not even during recess. We were supposed to become "mother tongued" as soon as possible...

None of my friends had continued their studies. My teacher in the sixth grade suggested that I should go to Middle School in Kiruna ...

Again I got nice schoolmates who were not prejudiced, but they did share the common misinterpretation that: "Sami have all the rights and no obligations" with many other Kiruna dwellers.

Aside from that, school was the only place in town where I felt secure and safe. I soon learned that outside of school it was better for me to demonstrate my Sami roots as little as possible. Despite that, I was called "Sami devil" every day. I tried to pretend that I did not hear, but each time a thorn stuck into my heart, and eventually I carried inside me a whole forest of thorns. I tried to supress my feelings and wrapped all the thorns into all kinds of excuses, so they wouldn't hurt anymore. The worst of it was that all this Sami hate was concealed, nobody wanted to show their contempt openly. There were lots of Kiruna dwellers, who were unaware that it existed and who would have been hurt if someone had mentioned that there was Sami hate in Kiruna...

The "mother tongue" became our language when we were together in town. Our own language was used only in our boarding rooms and in the Lapp Inn, which was the only hotel in those days which accepted Sami, and the Lapp café.

Thus I felt like a stranger among the Swedes and, unfortunately, felt a little bit like a stranger with my people who remained in the Sami village...I was no longer sharing their lives as active reindeer herders. They, on their side, were ignorant of my experiences in my new school.

We Sami in town learned fast that the best, and certainly the easiest, way to cope was to adapt, and as far as possible become Swedish. Unfortunately this drove many of us to self-denial. Once I saw some Sami youths purposely avoiding their parents in order not to demonstrate their Sami origin. It hurt me unbelievably and filled me with feelings of shame. To be absolutely honest, it could have been me, who felt forced to act the same way! It is painful to remember that it was quite often necessary for me to force myself not to deny myself, which to me felt extremely humiliating.

I continued my studies and accepted myself as more or less Swedish...In time I became teacher of the "mother tongue" in a high school in Gothenburg, and I felt quite content with my life. I had not been discriminated against. I had received the same good education as other Swedes. I had a job which I liked. Did I have anything to complain about?

I soon realized that as a Sami, I was considered an exotic being in Gothenburg. There were requests that I give lectures on Sami. I hesitated long before I dared to stand up and talk, because in reality I knew nothing about Samis, nothing about my people. All I knew about were my own experiences.

At last, I agreed to give a lecture, and in order to remedy my ignorance, I went to a library and borrowed a book about Samis. As I was reading the book I realized for the first time that we Sami indeed had our own history! I had not been allowed to read my history in nomad school. I had learned about King Karl, the young hero, and other brave Swedish kings, who had made the Swedish name fly in honor over the earth. For my history, it might possibly even have been favourable if the tyrant Danish King Christian had kept Sweden.

Well, my father happened to be visiting when I held my first lecture on Sami in Gothenburg. As we were returning home, I asked him what he had thought of my speech. He answered: "Well, I did not understand much of what you said, but they did applaud, so I assume that it was good." The answer did not surprise me, and I decided to translate my speech into Sami language for him. It was then that I got my life's greatest shock! I realized that "mother tongue" had taken over my "eatnangiella". I realized in horror that I COULD NO LONGER IN MY OWN LANGUAGE RELATE THE MOST COMMON AND EVERYDAY MATTERS!

That was the first time since I grew up that I realized the negative sides of my becoming Swedish. I started to comprehend that the Swedish Educational System had robbed me of something valuable, yes, maybe the most valuable thing I had owned: my language.

I can no longer talk to Father! This fact made me shiver. I became desperate, despondent. And then I became angry.

I had imagined that I still knew the Sami language, but due to the broken continuous contact with my Sami environment and culture, my language had not developed in a natural way. I realized that I stood on a level comparable to a 7-year old's linguistic capabilities. I could still talk about certain matters in Sami, but I was not able to keep a conversation or a discussion going.

As I was unable to develop my language in a natural daily contact with other Sami, the school should have given me a chance to study my language. But what had it done instead?

It had forced a new "mother tongue" upon me. I had been robbed of my language, my own history and my own culture. The school had substituted something that was now well known to me. What was foreign to me was I, myself. I felt cheated!

I realized that the first thing to do was to study my own language. I asked for leave of absence in order to study Sami, but that was not granted. A "mother tongue" teacher asking for time off in order to study his mother tongue! Unthinkable! So, instead, I studied my language at night as I kept working and teaching...

The most difficult part of my journey to my roots remained. I had to find my way to my Sami identity. I felt obliged to go back and analyze my development. I had to understand how the transformation from Sami to Swede had happened. I forced myself to remember all the bitter experiences which had made me choose the easiest road: accepting myself as Swedish and living like other Swedes. I went through all the painful memories as I tried to understand and realize what had happened. I no longer tried to erase, forget, and hide, nor did I pretend not to hear anymore.

It was hard enough to accept myself, but it was harder still to explain myself to others. I felt shame and guilt because I had betrayed my people. My people and myself. It hurt to remember and it was painful to tell others. I did it because I felt it was necessary for me, and maybe I could help others who were looking for THEIR identity..."

CHAPTER 4. A UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS NEEDED

4.1. Constituting the new mental slavery

We concluded earlier that *no* clauses on language in international legally binding declarations are mother tongue maintenance-oriented. None of them comes further than to overt non-descrimination prescription. In fact, most of them only require covert toleration of minority mother tongues. As we showed in the description of Sami education, not even overt maintenance-oriented permission is enough for minority (or powerless majority) mother tongues to be maintained and developed. What they require is overt maintenance-oriented promotion (which necessarily includes the allocation of the economic means for supporting L1-medium schools - one of the crucial deficiencies in Unesco's own Convention against Discrimination in Education). No international covenants guarantee this to any minority groups, nor to any individuals (regardless of whether the individuals come from a linguistic minority or majority).

In order to avoid institutional discrimination, in education and elsewhere, against minority language children, there is a need for legislation which explicitly promotes minority languages within a maintenance-oriented framework. Most existing declarations tend to be too vague and conceptually confused, and both the right of redress and the economic prerequisites for using the rights have been deficient.

Legislation on its own is, however, of limited value without active implementation, as the following examples show. In Wales official support for the Welsh language is a recent phenomenon, following on a sixteenth century ban on use of the language and a rapid swing to English in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Under the Welsh Act of 1967, Welsh has equal status in legal proceedings and documents, and choice of language in local administration is left to the local authorities. The principle of each language being equally acceptable officially was referred to as "equal validity". However a review a decade later concluded that this legislation had not strengthened Welsh, and proposed that future policy should aim to produce in all inhabitants of Wales an equal ability in both languages (Lewis 1982, 252). Toleration and permission cannot counteract the linguicist structural advantages of English, hence the need for active promotion in all domains.

In Yugoslavia, language rights are guaranteed in the national constitution (see the reference to the Yugoslav Constitution in chapter 2 above). The country was built on the principle of recognising linguistic and cultural diversity. Complex provisions, from the national to the local level, attempt to ensure equality between the many languages and to safeguard the language rights of all citizens, without regard to the language they speak, whether in education or in social or political life (Bugarski, 1987). In practice this means that in a country of 22.5 million inhabitants it is possible to complete secondary education in any of 13 different languages. Decentralisation has led to a variety of types of bilingual schooling which attempt to provide majority and minority group members with bilingual proficiency as a means of creating a harmonious multilingual society. It is, however, mainly speakers of languages other than Serbocroat who avail themselves of the possibility of becoming bilingual. In this respect Yugoslavia is similar to the Soviet Union, a multilingual country where it is mainly the speakers of languages other than Russian who become bilingual (Grigulevich & Kozlov 1981, Guboglo 1986).

Another conclusion we drew from our empirical sections is that in the countries examined there is a serpentine movement across the linguicist developmental continuum, reflecting increasing recognition of the rights of linguistic minorities. While this is in many respects a positive development, there is a risk that the transformation from physical violence to symbolic violence is equally effective in preventing maintenance and in ensuring assimilation. This risk will always be present if the majority group is favoured structurally and culturally. This is likely to be the case in all situations except overt maintenance-oriented promotion. Symbolic violence may also be unsuspected and undetected, as Marainen's moving autobiographic narrative shows.

The African scholar, Edward Blyden, wrote in 1872 that by subjecting Africans to "unmodified European training", a reference to British education through the medium of English, Europeans were producing a slavery "far more subversive of the real welfare of the race than the ancient physical fetters" (quoted in Ashby 1966, 153). The same thought is conveyed by Debi Pattanayak a century later, when he states that "English is one of the major symbols of British imperialism and Indian intellectual slavery" (1986b, 29).

Granted that some groups are denied their linguistic human rights, our claim is that such a denial constitutes a form of mental slavery comparable to what Blyden describes. What the dominant group takes for granted for itself is often denied to indigenous minorities, immigrant minorities and powerless indigenous majorities. The new mental slavery is a reality when the dominated groups have internalised the values and language of the dominant group.

In order to arrive at a viable declaration of linguistic human rights, it is imperative to study the processes of language maintenance and language shift. The language shift by an *individual* need not lead to language death, if the rest of the group continues to use the language. Shift only leads to linguicide if the *whole group* shifts. But for every individual, *shift may be "voluntary"* (i.e. a legitimate wish to assimilate), *or it may be forced, because of lack of* *linguistic rights*, including the right to information about the possible consequences of language shift for the individual and the group. Many non-linguistic factors have to be taken into account when clarifying *how to prevent a forced shift*. An anti-linguicist policy of course presupposes that monolingualism is no longer regarded as a societal norm (see myth 3).

4.2 Prerequisites for a declaration

One conclusion on the basis of these points is that dominated groups need unconditional control over their own education. Another conclusion is that declarations about linguistic human rights need to be exact, detailed, binding, and express overt maintenance-oriented promotion of dominated languages. Even overt permission does not protect minority mother tongues. In such contexts perceiving the injustice and analysing and fighting it may be more difficult than in contexts of overt prohibition. Nice phrases which only recommend in vague terms and which do not give unconditional legal protection are not worth much, except as a pacifier for international guilty consciences. Promotion may under certain circumstances represent unequal treatment. But we know that with unequal power relationships "equal treatment" reproduces unequal conditions. Overt maintenance-oriented promotion represents a departure from the pattern of linguicism, a qualitative break (a transformation instead of reformation) in the linguistic rights developmental continuum.

After this brief scrutiny of examples of national legislation and some of the international covenants, we now assess some of the requirements which a universal declaration should meet, in order to be explicitly anti-linguicist. An anti-linguicist policy presupposes that monolingualism is no longer regarded as a societal norm.

Working towards the formulation of a universal declaration calls for action in several areas. Some of the legal and ideological-pedagogical aspects will be considered here. We make three points about the *legal* and *financial* requirements. They relate to restrictions, redress and costs.

4.2.1 Unnecessary restrictions and reservations (such as conditions of territoriality, region, or nationality) should be removed

Many of our examples of declarations and national legislation contain restrictions or reservations which make the rights conditional. They apply to residents of a certain region only (Yugoslavia), or to one minority only but not the others (Finland), or to a national language only but not to unofficial languages even when these are indigenous (European Court of Human Rights, interpreting the Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, see Sieghart 1983, 249). These seem to us "unnecessary restrictions". On the other hand there are "necessary restrictions", which should be spelled out. For instance the number of children (13) required for a mother tongue medium school in the Finnish legislation we see as a positive example of a practical necessity and which prevents arbitrariness in judging what is "necessary".

4.2.2 Unconditional right of redress should be guaranteed

At present there are severe restrictions on the right to redress. In some cases only the state (and not individuals) have the right to complain. The Unesco complaints procedure, reported in chapter 2, is unfairly biassed in favour of the state and against the individual. The procedure for complaining to the European Court of Human Rights represents a significant right of appeal against the individual's own state, but its efficacy is impaired by the time and expense involved in first exhausting local legal remedies and then preparing a case for the Strasbourg court.

4.2.3 Economic prerequisites for exercising the rights should be provided

At present many of the examples express nice principles which become virtually meaningless if there is no financial provision guaranteed for their implementation. The Unesco Convention against Discrimination in Education recognizes "the right of members of national minorities to carry on their own educational activities, including the maintenance of schools" but does not raise the issue of who should fund the schools. Thus a minority might want to establish its own schools, and have the right to do so. But the right is illusory, if the minority itself has to pay all the costs (while majority schools are 100% state funded via the taxes that all pay, as for instance in Scandinavia). The vetoed Basque legislation attempts to ensure implementation also financially because it imposes an obligation on the "public powers".

4.2.4 Theoretical prerequisites

Some of the key theoretical issues relate to the clarification of concepts, and choice of pedagogical theory to support dominated languages. We need to know more about the central *concepts* used when discussing linguistic human rights. This is necessary because there are differences in referential meanings, and there is considerable variation in the connotations attributed to concepts like mother tongue, national language, official language, monolingual, bilingual. It is necessary because vague concepts make for vague declarations and recommendations, which leaves them open to conflicting interpretations. This is an urgent task for the scientific community. Our own work discussing the concept of mother tongue is a tentative example of starting such clarificatory work.

The *pedagogical theories* underpinning declarations which have pedagogical implications have often not been made explicit. Hence it may not be clear what implications follow from the declaration. Therefore both the theory and the implications have to be spelled out in connection with formulating a declaration, where the work of such scholars as Francisco Gomes de Matos, reported in chapter 2, is useful.

4.3 Mother tongues and linguistic rights awareness

Before presenting our own proposal for a linguistic human rights declaration, some of the conceptual ground needs to be cleared. In many of the declarations the "mother tongue" has been mentioned. This is a central concept, clarification of which will enable us to assess whether the mother tongues of minority and majority groups have the same rights in various declarations, laws and regulations, and in educational institutions, day care centres, schools, etc.

There are several different ways of defining a mother tongue. The importance attached to mother tongues varies in different societies. Here we use definitions developed in the context of the struggle of Western (both European and North American) oppressed indigenous and immigrant minorities (Skutnabb-Kangas 1975, 1981). We use four different criteria for the definitions: ORIGIN, COMPETENCE, FUNCTION and IDENTIFICATION (see table 1).

Table 2 *Definitions of mother tongue(s)*

CRITERION	DEFINITION
origin	the language(s) one learned first
competence	the language(s) one knows best
function	the language(s) one uses most
identification	
a. internal	the language(s) one identifies with
b. external	the language(s) one is identified as a native speaker of by others

(Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, 94)

We have three theses about mother tongues and a fourth about the definitions. These permit a grading of the mother tongue definitions in terms of the degree of linguistic rights awareness:

1. *A person can have several mother tongues*

2. *The same person can have different mother tongues, depending on which definition is used*

3. *A person's mother tongue can change during her life-time, even several times, according to all other definitions except the definition by origin*

4. *The mother tongue definitions can be organized hierarchically according to the degree of linguistic rights awareness of a society.*

The fourth thesis about the definitions is the most significant one for analysing the ways in which dominated groups are deprived of their linguistic rights. We will consider the mother tongue definitions in terms of a hierarchical sequence, which exemplifies how they are used in day care centres and schools.

In our view, the definition by FUNCTION is the MOST PRIMITIVE one, i.e. it shows the lowest degree of linguistic rights awareness. There is recourse to it in the following kind of way: "this Turkish immigrant child in Germany/Holland/Denmark/Britain speaks nothing but German/Dutch/Danish/English all day long at the day care centre/in school, much more than Turkish, she even uses German/Dutch/Danish/English with siblings, so that must be the child's mother tongue". Arguments based on this definition do not consider the fact that most minority children are *forced* to use an L2 because no facilities are offered in their mother tongue. The children and their parents have not themselves been given a chance to choose freely, from among existing alternatives, which language they would like to use in day care and school. This definition is, overtly or covertly, used in educational institutions in many European immigration countries. Likewise, there is massive documentation of how indigenous peoples on all continents have suffered from similar linguicist policies applied to them (see bibliography in Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1986b).

When the degree of societal awareness about language and identity rises, the next definition, also pretty primitive, is used, namely the definition by COMPETENCE ("the Assyrian children... had Swedish as their most dominant language, and could not even count in their *so-called* mother tongue" says Christina Bratt Paulston (1983, 49, our underlining), implying that Swedish, in which the children had been taught how to count, was their mother tongue, because they knew it better than their L1). Use of this definition fails to consider that poor proficiency in the original mother tongue is a result of not having been offered the opportunity to use (and thus learn) the original mother tongue well enough in those institutional settings where the children spend most of their day (day care centres, schools, organised after-school activities). A poor competence in the original mother tongue (which is a result of the neglect of the mother tongue in institutions earlier on, i.e. a result of earlier oppression) is then often used to legitimate additional oppression. The child is labelled as a majority language speaker, or she is denied teaching in the original mother tongue on the grounds that she does not know it well enough or because she knows the majority language better.

Use of a combination of definitions by ORIGIN and IDENTIFICATION shows the highest degree of linguistic rights awareness. This is the way the concept "mother tongue" should be understood in any declaration of linguistic rights:

THE MOTHER TONGUE(S) IS (ARE) THE LANGUAGE(S) ONE HAS LEARNED FIRST AND IDENTIFIES WITH.

The mother tongue definition that we endorsed above implies that the language(s) that the individual identifies with is/are the original mother tongue(s), the language(s) learned first. But in a society with (structural and cultural) linguicism and discrimination, not all minority children are allowed to identify positively with their original mother tongues and cultures.

Many minority children are forced to feel ashamed of their mother tongues, their parents, their origins, their group and their culture. The European Parliament motion for a resolution on a Charter of Rights for national and linguistic minorities refers to "the numerous obstacles to the full recognition of the cultural and civil autonomy of national and linguistic minorities in the cultural, social and economic sphere, and attitudes of contempt, incomprehension and outright hostility towards these minorities" (*Contact* 2/2, 1985, 5). Many children, especially in countries where the racism is more subtle and covert, take over the negative views which the majority society has of the minority groups, their languages and cultures. Many disown their parents and their own group and language. They shift identity "voluntarily", and WANT to be German, Dutch, American, British, Swedish etc.

Often this does not work either. The child's new majority identity is not accepted by everybody. This rejection is generally expressed more openly after the minority youngsters have reached puberty, and it is more common with youngsters who do not look like the stereotype of what a "real" German, Dutch, Swede, Norwegian, etc person "should" look like, and/or with youngsters whose accent does not sound "native". The minority youngster then often hears: "You are not one of us, you are not a real Swede/American/Dutch/German/Dane etc, you are a Finnish devil/a Turkshit/a damn Paki etc".

The child has then "voluntarily" disowned her original identity, but the new identity is not accepted by all the people from the majority group either. There is a conflict between internal and external identification. The youngster is not accepted, at least not unconditionally, by the majority group, with which she has been forced to identify. Nor has she been given the opportunity to learn "fully" the language and culture she has identified with, see Cummins 1984. At the same time the road back to her own group is often closed too. Not only psychologically (= she does not WANT to identify with the "dirty Turks" or "aggressive silent Finns"), but also often linguistically and culturally. The child no longer knows (nor has never had the chance to learn) the original mother tongue "properly". Nor does she have all the components of cultural competence in the original culture (for more detail see Skutnabb-Kangas forthcoming b). It is only the few who go through the process of self-rediscovery that Marainen describes (for comparable portrayals, in the form of novels, see references under Antti Jalava and Gunnar Kieri).

Not to respect the linguistic human rights of minority children is linguicist. If Danish, Dutch, West German, Swedish, British etc day care centres and schools, actively (with overt or covert prohibition) or through passivity and lack of positive action, prevent minority children from being able to identify positively with their mother tongues, then they function in a linguicist way. If they in the same vein prevent minority children from learning their mother tongues fully and from using them in all official situations, including day care centres and schools, then these institutions also function in a linguicist way. If the education of minority children is not discussed in these terms, i.e. if the Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Germans etc are not even aware of the fact that they are suppressing minority children's basic human rights every day, or deny that they are, then the Danish, Dutch, German, Swedish, British etc cultures are linguicist vis-a-vis minority children and their languages.

Educational institutions which define a minority child's mother tongue by reference to function or competence are guilty of cultural and institutional linguicism.

When discussing definitions of a mother tongue, we are deeply aware of the fact that these definitions, like all our concepts, are a product of our own cultures and experiences. Hans R. Dua talks about

"...the claim generally made by Indian researchers that the nature and scope of multilingualism in India in particular and in South Asia and African countries in general is different from that of multilingual situations in the Western countries and that the Western models of research do not apply to the Indian context" (Dua 1986, 9).

This must surely be true for the concepts we use too. In fact, there are many hints in some of the recent literature that the attitudes of people towards their mother tongues may be much more varied than we think. We have tried in defining mother tongues to allow for the frequent situation in multilingual countries of the child being bi- or trilingual on arrival at school. It seems to us that there may be both horizontal and vertical differences, depending on (horizontally) what phase a people is in in relation to power struggles which are decisive for linguistic rights in the country where they live, and (vertically) the degree of awareness of the importance of the linguistic rights that a people has or does not have, which is partly contingent on the overtness of these rights, and the explicitness of the concepts used.

Trying to understand why certain groups stress the importance of their mother tongue (as we do here), while others seem to be more or less indifferent or dismiss the concept altogether as not particularly useful, we find Wallace's (1961) typology of learning priorities (used in Bratt Paulston 1975, 74) helpful:

Table 3 *Learning Priorities in Revolutionary, Conservative and Reactionary Societies*

Revolutionary Phase	Conservative Phase	Reactionary Phase
Morality	Technique	Morality
Intellect	Morality	Technique
Technique	Intellect	Intellect

According to Wallace, groups undergoing revitalization are in a revolutionary phase. In this phase, moral learning will always be stressed. The mother tongue may be seen as an aspect of this moral learning, while language skills in other languages, for instance the majority language for a minority, is an aspect of technique. If a revitalization movement takes place in a conservative society, where technique has the highest learning priority, there is bound to be conflict, because "...in conservative societies, schools prepare people not for sacrifice but for jobs" (Rolland Paulston 1972, 478)[10]. Minority groups, both indigenous and immigrant, in a revolutionary phase where they have started demanding rights, are mobilizing and stress the importance of the mother tongue as a necessary bond between themselves, and between the group and its culture and history. Even if the learning of the dominant language is important, it is seen as a technical skill where not much of the group's emotional strength is invested. It is possible that many African states, on the other hand, may after independence, which required struggle and sacrifice, be closer to a conservative phase, trying to stabilise their development. In this type of society, technical skills like the learning of the official language, where it is not a local language, may for some time have a much higher priority than learning the mother tongue (a fact which makes the operations of linguicism easier).

But we also think that belonging to a dominant group, economically, politically and linguistically, may be comparable to being in a permanent conservative phase. Some kind of revitalization may be what is needed before dominant linguistic groups become aware of the importance of their mother tongues. Monolingual naivity (or monolingual stupidity), which is a hallmark of many dominant Western groups, may prevent an awareness of language in general and of the importance of the mother tongues in particular. Many Western linguicists may never have experienced interactional reciprocity. Not experiencing situations with equal relations between languages, and always being linguistically unthreatened may dull sensitivity to language issues. Being linguistically blinkered may contribute to permanent conservatism. It may prevent one from seeing the relativity of one's own vision, or from knowing that one has a vision in the first place, especially when one profits from linguicism economically and politically. Thus we agree with Khubchandani (1986, 26) when he says that "identification through a particular language label is very much a matter of social awareness on the part of an individual".

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[10] In Iran and Iraq, i.e. reactionary societies, education prepares boys to sacrifice their lives on the war front, just as education in equally reactionary Western societies induced males to sacrifice themselves in two "world" wars and, more recently in Thatcher's Britain during the Malvinas war. On the contribution of language to nationalism see Anderson 1983.

Khubchandani also comes with an interesting comparison between India and "homogenised nationality groups, such as in Europe". In India

"...affiliations with a particular language as mother tongue, with a regional language, or with a language of superior culture are treated as "given" or ascribed, and their manifestation in a repertoire is marked by a certain degree of flexibility and manipulation in adjusting to situational needs. In contrast, many homogenised nationality groups, such as in Europe, regard affiliation with one's mother tongue as "defining" characteristic, leaving not much room for manipulating the primary group identity. In such contexts, any departure in its verbal manifestation is regarded as an "outward" shift; in a way, one is aspiring to enter into another club" (1986, 31).

All the mobilizing factors, of whatever type they are (language, religion, political affiliation, etc) become in a revolutionary phase part of moral learning. Fighting for rights makes the issue at stake a mobilizing factor, i.e. a dividing line in identifying or not identifying with the struggle. The same issue may in another phase be pushed lower down in priority. But it may rise to a higher level of priority again, with a completely different motivation. Thus it may be important to differentiate between those groups, also in Europe, who because of their history are in a reactionary phase and whose emphasis on a strong identification with a language shows reactionary, nationalistic features, and those groups who are fighting for human rights for their mother tongues, as part of a more general fight for equity and justice, and for whom the mother tongue is one of the defining symbols because its oppression by the majority is so blatant.

4.4 A Universal Declaration of Linguistic Human Rights

At an international seminar on Human Rights and Cultural Rights (7-9.10. 1987 in Recife, Brazil) organised by AIMAV (the International Association for Cross-cultural Communication) and Unesco, a Declaration of Recife was adopted. It ends as follows:

"*Hence, conscious* of the need to provide explicit legal guarantees for linguistic rights to individuals and groups by the appropriate bodies of the member states of the United Nations, RECOMMENDS that steps be taken by the United Nations to adopt and implement a UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF LINGUISTIC RIGHTS which would require a reformulation of national, regional, and international language policies."

A preliminary Declaration ("RESOLUTION ON LINGUISTIC RIGHTS"/ "RESOLUÇÁO SOBRE DIREITOS LINGUÍSTICOS)" was also adopted by the Seminar:

"1. Every social group has the right to positively identify with one or more languages and to have such identification accepted and respected by others

2. Every child has the right to learn the language(s) of his/her group fully

3. Every person has the right to using the language(s) of his/her group in any official situation

4. Every person has the right to learn fully at least one of the official languages in the country where s/he is resident, according to her/his own choice."

All the demands formulated in our proposed declaration of children's linguistic human rights (which the Recife resolution builds on) are met to a very large extent in relation to majority children. Nobody questions their right to identify positively with their mother tongue, to learn it fully or to use it in official situations, for instance in schools. For majority children these rights are so self-evident that they may never think of them as human rights. Their mother tongues are promoted, overtly and covertly.

But even if one did not accept that the rights in the declaration are legitimate human rights, there is no way of denying the fact that majority and minority mother tongues do not enjoy the same rights in the educational systems of most European and Europeanized countries. *Linguistic human rights are blatantly violated in the educational systems in Europe and Europeanised countries. Groups defined on the basis of their mother tongues thus get unequal access to educational resources, i.e. these educational systems reflect linguicism.* An awareness of linguicism as a fact is the first step towards starting to find ways of combating it. This awareness includes an analysis of the relationship between racism and linguicism, and of the increasingly sophisticated ways in which these ideologies operate. Without these analyses the second myth is much more difficult to refute.

CHAPTER 5. RACISM HAS ALMOST DISAPPEARED THROUGH INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

2. Myth two: OVERT RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION HAVE ALREADY (ALMOST) DISAPPEARED IN EUROPE AND WILL SOON DO SO IN THE USA (THROUGH EDUCATIONAL MEASURES: INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION), i.e. RACISM IS AN INFORMATION PROBLEM. MULTIPLE IDENTITIES ARE THE NEW NORM. CLASS CONFLICT HAS (ALMOST) DISAPPEARED AND INTERCULTURAL HARMONY DESCENDED.

"The claims of ethnic minorities in Europe may have shifted from a set of demands in response to overt discrimination to demands for recognition and validation of a positive and newly resurgent ethnic identity" (Cornell conference description, p. 5). "Multiple identities become the social norm" (ibid., p. 5) and there is an "ethnically plural and linguistically diverse national identity" (ibid., p.5), the organisers say. We only recognise this picture of Europe with some difficulty...

It is true that the dominant groups in Western European countries have been forced to recognize the existence of minorities, indigenous and immigrant, in their midst. A substantial amount of educational activity, such as the teaching of the dominant language as a second language, "multicultural" or "intercultural" education and the like, represent a response to the perceived needs of a more variegated clientele. But when such efforts are analyzed, one can see that the celebration of ethnicity can in fact function both as *a new more sophisticated type of control mechanism* and as *a pacifier, to divert attention from social and economic inequality* (panem et circenses-type).

As an example of how these control mechanisms operate, we can refer to a major Council of Europe project "The education and cultural development of migrants" (Council of Europe 1986). The report, summing up 5 years' work involving all Council of Europe countries (often represented by senior civil servants), is methodologically explicit and attempts to make a solid bridge between multi-disciplinary theory and action. It is conceived as explicitly pursuing anti-racist goals. It recognizes that European societies are increasingly multicultural and can benefit from this experience, and that each culture, including those of migrants, has its own specific features, which should be respected as such (ibid, 7). The report also recognizes that contexts vary according to a large range of social, economic and historical factors, and that innovation and change are invariably resisted by the dominant group (ibid, 12). Yet *scant attention is paid to language in the report*. The few references focus essentially on the language of the country of residence, and *confine the mother tongue to the home* (ibid, 51) *and parents' associations* (ibid, 52). In other words, despite lip-service to interactional interculturalism, there is no strategy for how an awareness of language issues and the securing of language rights for dominated groups can contribute to respect for other cultures. *Bilingualism does not appear to have been considered*, whether for majority or minority group representatives, and the everyday reality of the bilingualism of minority groups is ignored. The affirmation that interculturalism should contribute to "the defence of human rights as agreed by all the member States of the Council of Europe" therefore smacks of empty liberal rhetoric. Although the document is well-meaning (a stand is taken against racism and the need for the dominant group to change is accepted), it totally neglects one of the most fundamental issues in the schooling of migrants, namely the role of the mother tongue for educational achievement, and high levels of bilingualism and biculturalism.

The same report holds up Sweden as being the ideal country in relation to the pursuit of "intercultural" education (ibid, 57). Sweden is in fact an excellent example of the most sophisticated forms of linguicism. The statement of goals in *all* official Swedish documents about minority education without exception refers to the importance of the minority mother tongues, and proclaims active bilingualism as a goal. Even so, minority mother tongues are forced out of the pre-school and the school, in the sections on action, where most of the syllabus time and the funds are allocated to Swedish only.

This underlying ambivalence can be seen clearly in two examples of developments recently. In the latest budget proposal (1988/89), the Minister of Education and Culture, Bengt Göransson, suggests that the teaching of minority mother tongues, which until now has been a part of the ordinary school day, "is to be placed outside the ordinary syllabus". The Finnish Teachers' Union in Sweden thinks that this will mean "the funeral of mother tongue teaching and mother tongue teachers", and continues: "The beautiful phrases about the equality of the immigrants are now finished. The state shows its real nature, and gives our mother tongue the value it thinks it ought to have. Outside the normal school day. This if anything is blatant institutional racism" (Hänninen 1988, 13, our translation).

Likewise, a new plan for a "language programme" for pre-schools and schools in Rinkeby, the Stockholm suburb with the highest percentage of foreign nationals in Scandinavia, has just (December 1987, Benckert et al) been proposed in a report which recommends massive teaching of Swedish in day-care centres and pre-schools. This is in conflict with the clearly articulated views of many parents. No proposals are made for improving mother tongue teaching, even though bilingualism is a declared goal. Large sums are spent on propaganda for Swedish, whereas the minority members of course have to do all the information work for the importance of the mother tongue teaching during their free time, without any financial support. As demonstrated elsewhere (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988b), research imperialism even in Sweden leads to ethnic Swedes travelling around the world as "experts" on minorities in Sweden, while minority members themselves have great difficulties in getting research funds or publishing (as Hujanen & Peura 1983 have shown in their review of Swedish migrant research). Our own definitions and descriptions of our own realities and wishes are invalidated.

There is a clear historical development in the ways in which linguistic human rights have been denied to minority children. This development parallels the more general development of control strategies in use in imperialism, racism and sexism. Control has moved from being open, brutal and physical, to being invisible, more sophisticated and psychological. In competing for resources, groups are ordered hierarchically and this is used as an ideological justification for unequal access to power and resources. It is no longer possible to use *biological differences* (= "race") as a basis for defining groups to whom differing mental capacities and characteristics are ascribed.

An example of the unequal access to material resources comes from the figures for expenditure per student in schools in Tanzania in colonial times: a Black pupil cost the colonial government £1.9, a so-called Asian £4.4 and a so-called European pupil £38 (Katende 1976, quoted in Yoloye 1986, 1). This system still exists in apartheid education. According to official South African statistics, education expenditure per pupil in Namibia is 232 rands for Blacks, 300 for so-called coloureds and 1.210 for so-called whites (Ellis 1984, 41).

The new parameter to be used to differentiate groups is *culture*, which includes *language*. Now it is ethnic (here: cultural and linguistic) characteristics which are used as a basis for categorizing people. *Cultures and languages are ascribed characteristics which legitimate a hierarchisation of them into those which are fitter to rule and expand than others.*

This new form of racism, ethnicism, and here specifically *linguicism, blames the victim in more subtle ways than biologically based racism, by colonising consciousness instead of colonising the body*. It distorts the victim's conception of reality: she sees reality in the same linguicist way as the dominant "mental coloniser". When her own language(s) and culture(s) are *degraded*, the dominant language and culture *glorified*, and the relationship between them *rationalised* (Preiswerk 1980) so that unequal power relationships seem "god-given" or "natural" (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1986b), she is made to believe in and to internalise this distorted image. (For sociological-educational accounts of the development of racism into ethnicism, see the references to Chris Mullard's work).

Linguicism can be *open* (the agent does not try to hide it), *conscious* (the agent knows about it), *visible* (it is easy for non-agents to detect) and *actively action-oriented*. Or linguicism can be *hidden, unconscious, invisible* and *passive* (lack of support rather than active opposition). The latter is typical of the present-day education of indigenous and immigrant minorities in most Western countries. Most post-colonial societies have also shifted from the brutal suppression of indigenous languages of colonial times to the more subtle forms of linguicism. Those countries which have developed the more sophisticated, culturally (rather than biologically) oriented forms of racism (ethnicism - see Mullard 1985) typically also exhibit this more sophisticated form of linguicism, at least in a later phase. On the role of the school as a weapon in assimilating minority children see e.g. Berger 1977, Jalava 1988, Jordan 1988, Longboat 1984, Marainen 1988, Pfeiffer 1975. It seems that the more sophisticated forms of racism, ethnicism and linguicism, succeed even better than the earlier cruder forms in eradicating languages.

Earlier, minority children were prevented from learning and using and identifying (or wanting to identify) with their mother tongues by being *physically separated* from their parents and their group (where this was possible) and by being physically punished when they spoke their language. Now the same goal is reached by *separating them by means of shame from their parents and group, and by psychologically preventing them from wanting to identify with them and from learning their language*. This is done even when there is toleration and permission to use the language. In the culture of shame, the language is not learned and used, even when it is overtly permitted (see chapter 13 in Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, chapter 12 in 1984a and Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1986a).

This parallels the more general development in the goals of education for minority children, from assimilation in immigrant education via multiracial and multi-ethnic to multicultural (or intercultural) education (Mullard 1984a), where assimilation would correspond to prohibition in our grid, multiracial to toleration, multi-ethnic to non-discrimination prescription and multicultural (or intercultural) to permission. All these forms of education are steps in the increasingly sophisticated ways in which racism is produced and reproduced in education, just as the points on our grid are phases in the processes which produce and reproduce linguicism.

Just as only *anti-racist education* (see Mullard, especially 1984a, b), *combined with structural changes in society*, can counteract racism, we claim that only *anti-linguicist policy, i.e. overt promotion of dominated languages, can counteract linguicism*. One of the *means* to achieve an anti-linguicist policy[11] is a universal declaration of linguistic human rights.

But a focus on the importance of linguistic and ethnic questions can also be misused. When working class labour migrants have used ethnicity as one of the solidarity symbols in their struggle for political, social and economic rights, this has, as D.L.Jayasuria has put it, been "cleverly defined by the "definers", the policy makers, who saw (the problems of social adaptation) not as structural problems but as personal, individual problems whose solution lay largely with the migrants themselves with appropriate assistance from the State" (Jayasuriya 1986, 5). Some German researchers present a parallel analysis for Europe: "a *social* subgroup in the labor market, the migrant workers, were scientifically produced as an "ethnic minority"", and "their difficulties were not interpreted in terms of the restricted access to economic, political and social life opportunities; instead, the lack of integration was overwhelmingly attributed to religious, cultural, linguistic and regional characteristics" (Borsutzky, Dittrich & Radtke 1987, 3). Castles 1987 has a similar analysis for Australia. Problems which migrant minorities face have in all European and Europeanised countries been attributed to linguistic, cultural and social *deficiencies* in the migrants themselves (see Churchill 1986, Cummins 1984, Jayasuriya 1986, Skutnabb-Kangas 1984a, Skutnabb-Kangas & Leporanta-Morley 1986, Smolicz 1979). It is true that "a model of multiculturalism, concentrating on the private domain may be dysfuntional in that it diverts attention from the real issues of inequality, deprivation and discrimination facing ethnic minorities in the public domain", as Jayasuriya puts it (1986, 8). The celebration of ethnicity (including the minority languages) can thus function as a compensatory measure within a deficiency-based framework, diverting attention from important inequalities in class societies.

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[11] But an anti-linguicist policy may need to be radically different for minorities fighting for linguistic human rights (fighting to prevent the killing of their language) and for groups in a revitalisation situation with positive attitudes among the whole population towards the language to be revitalised.

But there also seems to be an unnecessary polarisation between cultural and structural, expressive and instrumental dimensions of migrant minority ethnicities. This "dilemma of pluralism" is accurately formulated by Jayasuriya (1986,8): "how to reconcile the rightful concerns of cultural diversity and identity (i.e. the expressive, cultural dimension of ethnicity, our remark) with the socially legitimate desires and claims to achieve equality" (i.e. the instrumental dimension of ethnicity, the quest for a fair share of economic, social and political power, our remark).

The dilemma has been formulated as follows in the concluding remarks in a book called "Minority education: from shame to struggle" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins 1988): "(Emphasizing the learning of a minority mother tongue) can be done with at least three completely different purposes. *Firstly*, the mother tongue can be emphasized to the *exclusion of the learning of both the second language and other skills*, as is done in segregation programmes (Bantu-education in Namibia and the education of many Turkish children in Bavaria are cases in point...). *Secondly*, the mother tongue can be emphasized as a part of ethnicity, to the *exclusion of societal questions of economic and political power*, as is done in most of the multiculturalism discourse. This is a *therapeutic approach*, which builds on *deficiency theories*, and is used as a form a pacification (a cartoon in Australian *Mentor* 1, 1986, 7: A: "I want this to be a multicultural society"; B: "Ah – where each ethnic group can make its unique contribution"; A: "Right...while us White Protestant Anglo-Saxons get on with running the country").

Or *thirdly*, the mother tongue can be emphasized partly in its own right, as *a self-evident human right*, and partly in order to be able to give a *better instrument for coping with both the learning of the second language and the learning of other skills, and to include analysis, understanding, evaluation and action in relation to societal questions of economic and political power.*

An emphasis on minority mother tongues can thus be for EXCLUSION, for PACIFICATION or for EMPOWERMENT. It is the last one of these approaches, advocating language for empowerment, that this book stands for." (Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins 1988, 393-394). Here we advocate *a combination of an emphasis on economic, social and political rights (the instrumental dimension), and an emphasis on linguistic and cultural rights for empowerment (expressive dimension)*.

The balance in how much to focus on, respectively, the expressive and the instrumental dimensions of ethnicity, should rightfully be decided by the each minority itself uniquely in each country and in each historical situation. It depends crucially on the phase reached in class struggle. (For incisive analyses of the relationship between culture and structure and the between race and class, see Mullard 1984a,b, 1985, 1986a,b). The combined emphasis on the expressive and instrumental dimensions can serve to counter-balance myth 2 and as a starting-point for the establishment of counter-hegemonies.

CHAPTER 6: MANY LANGUAGES DIVIDE A NATION

MYTH 3: MANY LANGUAGES DIVIDE A NATION

> MYTH 3: "Most international and intranational wars have been caused primarily by differences in religions, political philosophies, races, and cultures – and languages. Language diversity has been a major cause of conflict... Any honest student of the sociology of language should admit that multilingual societies have been less united and internally peaceful than single-language societies." (Imhoff 1987, 37, advocating "US English")

While language is of course a significant component of group identity, and can be exploited in conflictual situations, there is no evidence of differences of language *causing* wars or comparable conflicts.

A large majority of the *countries* in the world are *de facto multilingual*, in the sense that several mother tongues are spoken natively inside their borders. It is inevitable that most countries should be multilingual: the number of independent countries is less than 200, while the number of languages spoken in the world is probably between 4-5000, depending on how a language is defined. Just like countries, *individuals* can be monolingual or bi- and multilingual. There are more multilinguals than monolinguals in the world. Monolingual people are thus a minority in the world, but many of them belong to a very powerful minority, namely the minority which has been able to function in all situations through the medium of their mother tongue, and who have therefore never been forced to learn another language.

Cultural attitudes towards monolingualism and multilingualism vary on a continuum where at one end monolingualism is seen as a desirable norm. At the other end multilingualism is seen as the normal state of affairs. Granted the number of languages in the world, most countries and people should of course be closer to the multilingualism end of the continuum in their attitudes, and in fact most countries might be placed there. But there are some very powerful exceptions, namely most European countries and, especially, most Europeanized countries. In these it seems that the extreme monolingualism ideology is very strong, as it is in most former imperial European countries which are the sources of the languages of the former colonisers (Britain, France, Germany etc.).

These negative attitudes towards multilingualism pertain both in relation to *official multilingualism in a country* (which is seen as divisive for the nation) and to *individual multilingualism*. Being bilingual has in several countries, especially the United States, been used almost as a synonym for being poor, stupid and uneducated. And it is true that coming from a linguistic minority in a monolingually oriented country often has meant misery and non-education.

For an *individual, monolingualism* almost inevitably *means monoculturalism and monoculism*, being able to see things with one pair of glasses only and having a poorly developed capacity to see things from another person's or group's point of view. It mostly means not knowing more than one culture from the inside, and therefore lacking relativity.

For a *country, official monolingualism* in the majority of cases *means* that all the *minorities are oppressed and their linguistic human rights are violated.*

D.P. Pattanayak, the Director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, says in a powerful article (1986a) that the Western way of looking at multilingualism is something like this: a country should ideally be monolingual. If it is officially bilingual, that is a pity but one can live with it. If it has three or more languages, it is underdeveloped and barbaric. In order to become civilized, it should strive towards becoming monolingual.

The controversy about educational *goals* (monolingualism or multilingualism) and about *means* (operationalized as mother tongue medium education or second/foreign language medium education) is one of the major controversies in educational language planning. At present, education appears to be achieving what centuries of colonisation did not succeed in, namely wiping out hundreds of small mother tongues while the speakers are still alive (for a case study see Aikio 1988 on the death of Sami in Finland).

Policy-makers in Europe are interested in language, and appreciate that schools and universities are a key site for structural and ideological change. A considerable effort is currently being expended on creating attitudes and conditions favourable to European "integration". Funds are being allocated by national governments and by supra-national organizations (particularly the European Economic Community, The European Parliament, and the Council of Europe) to strengthen the teaching of foreign languages, and to increase the mobility of school children and their teachers and of university students and staff across national/linguistic borders. Efforts are being made to ensure that European children learn two foreign languages – meaning, in continental Europe, one language in addition to English.

English is widely established as the first foreign language. This necessitates the allocation of resources and time to the subject at key levels of the education system. While European governments feel obliged to favour English structurally in this way, for instrumental purposes, they also profess an urge to stem the tide of the linguistic and cultural invasion that English brings with it. The preponderant use of English in economic life, science and technology is seen as representing a threat to the languages and cultures of the European community, and the concepts and modes of thought embodied in these (European Parliament Working Document 1–83/84/B, 27).

Maximal support for the teaching of the national language, and providing for other languages than English to be taught as foreign languages represent attempts to ensure the continued use of all the "major" languages of Europe, ie those which are the dominant language in (at least) one nation state.

By contrast, the support accorded to minority indigenous and immigrant languages is modest in the extreme. There is in principle a recognition of their value as a cultural heritage, and the European Parliament has passed resolutions designed to strengthen the languages and cultures of indigenous minority groups (see the journal *Contact*, of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages). However, it is up to national governments to implement such resolutions, and with the exception of countries such as Belgium, Finland and Switzerland, and parts of Wales, minority indigenous languages are given sparse support. Linguicism permits even less support for immigrant languages.

We have earlier (Skutnabb-Kangas 1986a) presented the position in Europe and Europeanized countries as regards monolingualism and multilingualism in the following, extremely simplified way:

MINORITIES (like those in many non-European and non-Europeanized countries) think that genuine multilingualism is a perfectly normal and desirable state. It is possible and desirable to have multilingualism as the linguistic goal in the education of all children. It is perfectly possible to have several mother tongues. Mother tongue medium maintenance education is often a good way to bilingualism/multilingualism for minorities. Learning one's mother tongue is a human right which does not need any further legitimation.

MAJORITIES think that monolingualism in the majority language is the normal and desirable state. Societal multilingualism is divisive and should not be a goal. If individual multilingualism has to be accepted, the emphasis should be on the learning of the majority language, and this should evidently become the mother tongue of the minority children. If transitional mother tongue medium education for minorities (through the medium of their own language) has to be accepted, the only legitimation for it is that it leads to increased proficiency in the majority language so that it can later on more easily replace the minority mother tongue.

In a democratic country, it should be the duty of the school system to give every child, regardless of the linguistic background of the child, the same chance to participate in the democratic process. If this requires that (at least) some children (i.e. the linguistic minority children) become bilingual or multilingual, then it should be the duty of the educational system to make them bilingual/multilingual, as individuals (as opposed to the COUNTRY being multilingual).

Now if Western attitudes really are inclined towards monolingualism (and there is a wealth of evidence to document Pattanayak's analysis), what are the chances that European and Europeanized countries will come up with good solutions to questions about the education of minority children, solutions which would promote multilingualism and maintain minority mother tongues? Slight, as we see it. Monolingualism does *not* prevent *some* knowledge of other languages, provided these are "modern" and "European" and are learned at school as part of becoming "educated". If monolingualism (with *some* knowledge of other languages) is the explicitly or at least implicitly desirable and accepted societal norm, there is an inherent conflict between supporting that norm, and organizing minority (or majority) education so that it would lead to high levels of bi- or multilingualism.

But this conflict is seldom discussed openly. In fact, most European countries include at least some passages in their declarations of goals for the education of minorities which refer to bi- or multilingualism. Mostly it is discussed as a societal phenomenon ("Britain is multilingual"), and here it only means that several languages are spoken in a country. This is often only stating a fact, not declaring a wish ("OK, there ARE several languages spoken in this country, and since we cannot really do much about it, we had better accept it and try to see if there is anything positive in it"). Bilingualism/multilingualism is seldom declared as a *goal* for the educational system. If it is, then the language learning *emphasis is put on the learning of the majority language* (L2=language two, the second or foreign language) *by the minority children.* The part of their bilingualism which has to do with the minority language (L1=the first language, the mother tongue), again states the fact, but does not declare a wish ("OK, they do speak that minority language, but obviously they need to learn L2, English/German/Dutch etc, that is the most important thing in their education. If learning English makes them bilingual, then the goal of education must be to make them bilingual, because they HAVE to learn English").

It thus seems that both minorities and majorities *agree* that *minority children* should be given the opportunity to *learn the majority language* in school. But they *disagree about the learning of the minority mother tongue*. Many minorities think that their mother tongues should have the same rights, also in schools, as majority people's mother tongues do. Majorities act as if minority mother tongues were of less value (cultural linguicism), and emphasize educational efforts geared towards the learning of the majority language (institutional linguicism).

Very few educational programmes in Europe for migrant minorities try to make the children bilingual, even if many claim that they do. Very few educational programmes in underdeveloped countries under Western influence try to make the children bilingual. What both types wipe out or underdevelop is the children's mother tongue.

What about us researchers? If monolingualism (with *some* knowledge of other languages) is the societal norm, there is a risk that European and Europeanized academics and educationalists (inevitably but maybe unconsciously?) take this norm for granted, and base their concepts and theories about languages, mother tongues, etc., accordingly. We find this a worrying but plausible suggestion. It is equally worrying that these issues are undertheorized (or often not even mentioned) in the literature. There are, of course, critical voices. For instance, Jernudd (1981) has pleaded that the dominant paradigm and prevailing concerns of Western linguistics are of very dubious relevance to the language cultivation and language planning needs of multilingual underdeveloped countries. Similar concerns have been voiced by many Indian and African researchers (see, for instance, the references to Annamalai, Dua, Khubchandani, Mateene, Ngũgĩ, Pattanayak). Yet the structure of academic imperialism (see myth 5) ensures that the monolingually oriented West exercises a strong influence on multilinguals globally.

Kashoki, of Zambia, criticizes much Western sociolinguistic research for regarding the "tribe" as a static, monolingual group, and quotes evidence from a number of sociolinguistic surveys in several African countries which shows that the norm in Africa is for individuals and communities , urban and rural, to be bi- or multilingual (Kashoki 1982). He concludes that "the present conception of African languages as essentially tribal tools of communication might have little basis in fact" (ibid, 163).

Dua, of India, points out that the language policies followed in many underdeveloped countries favour the "colonial languages of wider communication" and "ignore the multilingual reality of linguistically heterogenous developing nations by inculcating one language policy for national unity. The multilingual reality dictates that the developing nations should aim at unity underlying diversity in their educational language planning rather than seek triumph over diversity through uniformizing and stultifying constraints of one-language policy" (Dua 1985, 177).

A study of national educational language planning for Namibia (UNIN 1981, analysed in Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1986b) reveals that linguicism operated to favour English at the expense of local Namibian languages. Excessive emphasis was placed on criteria of international rather than national importance. The task itself, selection of a single national language, reflected a Eurocentric bias, which ignored the nature of multilingualism in Namibia and relevant experience from other multilingual countries. The study demonstrates how an underdeveloped country becomes the victim of Western academic "aid", and shows how neocolonialist structures perpetuate dependence by means of such myths as the monolingual myth.

In an article called "Monolingual myopia and the petals of the Indian lotus: do many languages divide or unite a nation?", Pattanayak (1988) answers a question as to whether a country of many languages is not always threatened by disintegration:

"Yes. It is in the same sense that a plural world is always threatened by disintegration. No more, no less. If this leads one to the position that all languages of the world should give way to a single language, all religions should merge into one, all ethnicities should merge and fuse into one, one is arguing in favour of a reductionism which is fraught with serious consequences for the survival of humanity. Ecology shows that a variety of forms is a prerequisite for biological survival. Monocultures are vulnerable and easily destroyed. Plurality in human ecology functions in the same way. One language in one nation does not bring about equity or harmony for the members or groups of that nation."

Our examples and analysis from the underdeveloped world demonstrate that the monolingual myth was successfully propagated worldwide, but that the principle underlying this linguistic hegemony is increasingly under academic challenge. Such a challenge is inspired by the reality of grassroots multilingualism.

CHAPTER 7. MULTILINGUALISM IS CAUSALLY CONNECTED WITH POVERTY

4. Myth four: MULTILINGUALISM IS CAUSALLY CONNECTED WITH POVERTY

Joshua Fishman has pursued the question of the relationship between multilingualism and poverty for decades (e.g. Fishman 1966, 1972) and continues to do so in a large new study (Fishman & Solano 1987). The main problem has been formulated by Pool (1969, 151-152) as a conclusion in a large study, stating that "a planner who insists on preserving cultural-linguistic pluralism had better be ready to sacrifice economic progress". A slightly more optimistic conclusion is drawn by Kenneth McRae, who has studied Belgium, Switzerland, Finland and Canada in depth (1983, 15, and see his monographs): "...high levels of political and economic development are compatible with the existence of two (or possibly more) significant language communities but probably not with extreme linguistic fragmentation". Fishman remarks that this conclusion is "somewhat more in line with Fishman's hopes than with Pool's findings" (Fishman & Solano 1987, 5). Fishman himself has repeatedly found a negative correlation between economic development and linguistic heterogeneity, and is pursuing studies to show what (if any) the direction of causality is: "did certain polities tend to remain economically more underdeveloped, politically less enculturated and more extremely sectionalist because they were *already* linguistically more heterogenous or, vice versa, did they remain linguistically more heterogenous because they were economically less developed, politically less enculturated and characterized by more extreme sectionalism?" (ibid., 4-5). Fishman's own hope (which he seems to wish to get more support for with the new study) is that "it (is) not impossible to pursue (via modern planning methods) *both* economic development *and* ethnolinguistic heterogeneity together, as joint rather than as mutually exclusive goals" (ibid., 5).

There is some evidence that this has been achieved in some underdeveloped countries, for instance parts of India:

"South Kanara ia a multilingual district where the majority of the people use 4 to 5 languages, including English and Kannada. About 90% of the informants in this survey have reported that they use four to five languages in their daily lives. Some have even reported using seven languages, and only very few are bilinguals or monolinguals... Each language seems to have a specific role in the community, and there is a high degree of linguistic tolerance, and readiness to negotiate in the choice of individual languages in various situations. Interestingly, the findings seem to challenge the prevailing view among western scholars that multilingualism is not conducive to economic prosperity." (K.C.Nambiar's introduction to Chaudhary 1986)

A situation with functional differentiation may not seem conflictual, but this presupposes a hierarchy between the languages. It is highly likely that such a hierarchy reflects a status quo with unequal power relationships, which succeed in legitimating themselves. In South Kanara, English is perceived as the language of good jobs, hence power (Chaudhary 1986, 74). Linguicism thus operates to maintain English as the dominant language, and since there is unequal access to English, this leads to unequal opportunities and unequal power relations.

Given the present state of the world, English is in fact displacing other languages. All arguments which obscure the appreciation of this must therefore be examined critically, even if they at the same time might be sound and solid in counteracting other negative tendencies, like the legitimacy of a monolingual norm for multilingual situations. The difficulty is then to separate out the strands in the argument which express legitimate claims ("multilingual situations demand frameworks starting from multilingual norms") from the strands which represent illegitimate claims ("hierarchies are necessary for harmonious multilingual coexistence").

Any study of the relationship between multilingualism and poverty should therefore address the question of language and power, nationally/internally (the way linguicism operates to favour certain languages) and externally/internationally (the legacy of colonialism, contemporary neocolonial structures and ideologies). Only if justice is done to these dimensions can the specificities of correlations between multilingualism and poverty in given contexts be approached. This should facilitate the burying of the simplistic myth that multilingualism is causally related to poverty.

CHAPTER 8. MONOLINGUALISM AS THE NORM

5. Myth five: OUR LANGUAGES, WHICH ARE INTERNATIONAL AND DEVELOPED, CAN DO THE TRICK FOR OTHER PEOPLE TOO. OUR MONOLINGUALLY ORIENTED LANGUAGE POLICIES MUST HAVE BEEN RIGHT BECAUSE THEY HAVE GOT US WHERE WE ARE (RICH, DEVELOPED, UNITED, RESPECTING HUMAN RIGHTS, ETC). THEREFORE MONOLINGUALISM IN AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE SHOULD BE THE NORM

The arguments which have been used to legitimate use of a dominant language can be divided into three types. The first type have to do with the *intrinsic* power of the language, its capacity to serve any purpose. While there is nowadays less explicit recourse to the "civilizing" mission of Western languages, it is invariably assumed in Western circles (among educational planners, linguists, etc) that English is universally relevant and needed worldwide. Here is a sample of such universalist pretentious special pleading. "English has also become a lingua franca to the point that any literate, educated person on the face of the globe is in a very real sense deprived if he (sic) does not know English. Poverty, famine and disease are instantly recognized as the cruellest and least excusable forms of deprivation. Linguistic deprivation is a less easily noticed condition, but one nevertheless of great significance." (Burchfield 1985, 160-161; for an elaboration see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1986b).

The second type of argument has to do with the resources a language commands, its *extrinsic* power.This relates to trained teachers (implying an academic infrastructure), published teaching materials and reference works (implying transnational or national publishers), and an established tradition for teaching the language. The resources are thus both material (books, institutions, capital) and immaterial (knowledge and skills).

The third type of argument has to do with the uses to which a language is put, its functions or *structural* power. English has a dominant position in science, technology, medicine and computers; in research, books, periodicals, and software; in transnational business, trade, shipping and aviation; in diplomacy and international organizations; in mass media entertainment, news agencies and journalism; in youth culture and sport; and in education systems, as the most widely learned foreign language.

In the international linguistic market-place, English is sold by recourse to such arguments. The arguments obscure the fact that it has been British and American government policy since the mid-1950s to establish English as a universal "second language", so as to protect and promote capitalist interests

(Phillipson 1986). The creation of an international cadre of applied linguists and "experts" in English as a Second Language, and the establishment of the necessary academic infrastructure in the West are part and parcel of the process of adaptation to the new demands of the neocolonial age. One result is that English is now entrenched as the dominant language in former colonies even more securely than it was before independence. "Africans have been psychologically conditioned to believe that only European languages are structured to aid development" (Kashoki in UNIN 1981, 41; see also references to Mateene and Ngũgĩ). With few exceptions, other languages have not been accorded the resources which would permit the accumulation of extrinsic and structural power. English is falsely marketed as being a "neutral tool of communication", when clearly it provides access to power to its users and prevents others from doing so. It is projected as "uniting" a nation, as though conflicts of interest disappear if a single language is understood by all citizens. The source of the power of the language is rarely explored in academic writing on educational language planning. The validity of the arguments in favour of the dominant language is largely unquestioned. For a detailed study, showing the falsity of the three types of arguments, see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1986b.

Such arguments have been vital in preserving the status of the former colonial languages in underdeveloped countries. The ideology that they represent is essentially linguicist. It dates back to the attitudes to language which characterized the monolingual national states of Europe in the ages of despotism and imperialism, and which were implanted round the globe during the colonial age. The United States followed eagerly in the same path, nationally and internationally. For instance, English was effectively established as the language of power in the Philippines (Tollefson 1986) and linguistic genocide was achieved in such South Pacific territories as Guam (Day 1980). American foundations have been of crucial significance in the neocolonial phase in the constitution of such new academic disciplines as sociolinguistics (Haberland 1988) applied linguistics and English as a Second Language (Fox 1975, Phillipson 1986), and in general in the export of Western educational norms and practice to underdeveloped countries (Arnove 1982). Educational institutions in the underdeveloped world, from the preschool to the university department, have been deliberately cast in a Western mould. They were often initially staffed by expatriates, both in the colonial era and after "independence", when "aid" was provided by Western governments or foundations (Altbach 1982, Berman 1982a and 1982b).

There are strong affinities between the structures and ideologies for promoting English nationally and internationally. The British and the Americans have loosely coordinated strategy for the promotion of English since the mid-1950s. A senior British Council representative reported in 1960, to a conference of British universities called to make them think more internationally, that the Americans were planning a "great offensive" to make English a world language, an "English language campaign on a global basis" on a hitherto unprecedented scale (King 1961, 22). The underdeveloped world's "need" for development was to be assisted by English-teaching from the

English-speaking powers. The British Council's Annual Report for 1960-1961, 16, prophetically anticipates a global melting-pot:

"America, with its vast resources, its prestige and its great tradition of international philanthropy, no less than because it is the largest English-speaking nation, is one of the greatest English-teaching forces in the world today. Teaching the world English may appear not unlike an extension of the task which America faced in establishing English as a common national language among its own immigrant population."

As can be anticipated at this stage of our dissection of the myths used to preserve language dominance, the Westerners who spread over the world were seldom expected to have detailed familiarity with the language or culture of those they were teaching or researching. This even applies to language specialists at the present time. This monolingual orientation combines with a sophisticated technical professionalism, whereas the foreign policy agenda of such international operations is largely covert. The structures of professionalism and aid which service the relationship between "us" and "them" have been very effective in maintaining the dominance of Western languages throughout the world (i.e. in achieving Western *political* goals). Yet they are still seen as a "natural" state of affairs. They have been less successful in achieving the explicit *educational* goals that the language and educational policies were supposed to achieve. This is because the goals have been defined in Western terms, and followed Western notions of the role of language in development. These, as our analysis has shown, are essentially linguicist and deprive linguistic minorities of their rights.

6. Myth six: UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES (AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES WHO COME TO US AS GUEST WORKERS/IMMIGRANTS) SHOULD LEARN FROM US IN EUROPE AND EUROPEANIZED COUNTRIES.

As we have said earlier, a *prerequisite* for an anti-linguicist policy is a positive attitude towards multilingualism. This requires becoming conscious of the fact that monolingualism and attitudes which see monolingualism as a natural norm are a dangerous disease which should be prevented from spreading further. The strongest centre for the contaminated area is Europe/North America. The monolingual ideology which functions so as to obstruct the guaranteeing of linguistic rights spreads out from this centre. Monolingualism as a norm must be contested and delegitimated. Members of dominant groups, including their researchers, need to become aware of how linguicism operates to their advantage, and how cruder forms of coercion have been replaced by more subtle forms. Researchers in these countries should go and study countries in Africa, Asia, the Soviet Union and fringe areas in their own regions which have overpowered this disease. Many of these multilingual countries have come much further than Europe and Europeanized countries in terms of awareness, the formulation of demands for linguistic rights, and the enactment of appropriate legislation (as we could see in some of the examples earlier).

In many of these countries linguistic inequality is seen as indicative of more general problems: "Language is a barometer of the socioeconomic planning in a country" (Pattanayak 1986b, vii). The Indian analyses are central in any analysis of language rights: "Language use in education which creates inequity by restricting or denying the right of minority language groups even to exist, language use in administration that restricts or denies access to other language groups to effectively participate in the socioeconomic developments, and language use in mass communication which bestows the right to control and manipulate information and knowledge by the controlling elite threaten to destroy the very basis of multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural countries", writes Debi Pattanayak (1986b, vii). He thus sees two of the rights in our declaration (learn L1 fully, use L1 in official situations) as necessary for multilingual countries. In order for them to be implemented, the first right is also necessary: "The establishment of separate identity is a prerequisite for statutory and national recognition... Recognition strengthens the demands for acceptance for use in the administrative, legislative, legal, educational, and mass-communication domains at the national or regional levels and for governmental assistance for development... Extension of use of language into the public domains is facilitated when there is...political consolidation based on the language in question which has given political control to the speakers of the language" (Annamalai 1986b, 10-11). Thus we see that the demands in our declaration seem to have been identified as basic for the linguistic human rights both of dominated groups in the monolingually oriented European and Europeanized countries and of those in multilingually oriented Third World countries.

One obstacle to "us" learning from "them" is the structure of scientific imperialism, which determines how scientific paradigms evolve and how they are disseminated. The international scientific community is relatively well-established institutionally in Western countries. It is from here that journals, books, ideas, "experts", methods and concepts radiate to the rest of the world in a largely unidirectional flow. This structure, which permits the Western "centre" to flourish and keeps the global "periphery" in a permanent state of dependence, can be labelled "academic imperialism" (Galtung 1980).

We conclude in Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1986b that English linguistic hegemony is an integral part of the structure and ideology of imperialism in each of its various forms (including scientific/academic imperialism). The structure is neocolonial in the sense that the imperialist Centre has evolved new ways both of binding the former colonies to it, and of consolidating and extending its influence elsewhere. Linguicism serves to favour English at the expense of other languages. English is therefore gradually displacing and replacing other languages. It is important to note that the same type of ideologies and structures are used *both* when replacing the mother tongues of minority groups in the Centre (e.g. by U.S. English when advocating measures which would eventually lead to a displacement/replacement of Spanish and other minority languages in the USA, *and* when displacing/replacing the dominated languages in the Periphery. The labels widely used to refer to English obscure the structure which serves to concentrate power and wealth in the Centre, and the role of English in mediating this structure and ensuring the functioning of all types of imperialism. To call English *the language of wider colonisation* (rather than the current euphemism "the language of wider communication") more accurately reflects the distribution and structure of power in the contemporary world and the role of English in it.

It is instructive to study the processes on the linguicism continuum (from maintenance via neoplacement and displacement to replacement – see Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1986b) in relation to English, because the shift is relatively recent and to some extent well documented (see Phillipson 1986) even if it is theoretically under-researched. But it is important to compare similar processes across the world, using the same theoretical framework. We thus see strong parallels in the ways educational linguistic human rights have been denied to indigenous and immigrant minority children by the linguistic majority groups in Europe and Europeanized countries, and the ways some of those countries used and continue to use educational language policy as one means of exploiting underdeveloped countries. Failure to promote African languages, a concomitant of the one-sided promotion of the former colonial languages, has prevented the flowering of African mother tongues both internally and across national borders. Mateene, director of the recently-scrapped OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages, notes that the neglect of mother tongues in education and in the wider society is harmful to "relations between countries which are identical, but are declared different by the mere fact that they have been under the domination of different European linguistic systems" (Mateene, 1985, 24). Mateene points out the tragic irony of the linguistic heritage of Africa, the many languages of each nation, seldom being credited with the status of being a "national" or "official" language, whereas non-African, foreign, colonial languages are (ibid, 18).

This example, together with the example from the Council of Europe report, with its neglect of linguistic issues, highlights the *need for a change of awareness in relation to language among dominant group researchers and administrators*. A major effort needs to be done to influence the hegemonic ideas which at present occupy much of the available space in the political and academic discourse on educational language planning. This has been decisively conditioned by the European colonial past, and the traditions and attitudes which stem from Western dominance worldwide, not only in technology but also in the academic world As we have shown, this academic or scientific imperialism reflects monolingualism and is insensitive to the language needs of dominated groups.

CHAPTER 10. COUNTERHEGEMONIES

These myths have been and are pervasive. Partly, they have not been refuted convincingly enough. This has been difficult, because it necessitates asking multidisciplinary questions which probe into the reasons behind unequal power relationships. We have not had integrated multidisciplinary theories about power relations between languages to assist us in asking the right questions. This is why we think that the concept of linguicism is potentially so powerful. Partly the myths are being spread, regardless of their truth value, as a result of the ways in which research imperialism supports the interests of dominant languages. Counterarguments do not get much of an airing or hearing (see Hujanen & Peura 1983 for an empirical study), and counterarguments are a part of constructing counterhegemonies. Construction of counterhegemonies can of course by definition not be supported by the hegemonic powers without these attempting to contain and control them.

In most contexts where minorities have to struggle to get mother tongue medium education, the arguments used have built on the effectiveness of mother tongue medium education in assisting the learning of the majority language, i.e. a *defensive* argument, based on deficiency theories. Sweden Finns were the first labour migrant minority which started to use an *offensive* argumentation, claiming that education through the medium of one's mother tongue is a linguistic human right, in addition to also promoting proficiency in the majority language as a side-effect. This type of argumentation is based on using enrichment-based theories, as opposed to the deficiency-based ones.

The development of this type of argumentation was made possible by essentially two factors, one political, one cultural. Because of the protected legal status of Nordic citizens in other Nordic countries, very little migrant energy went on a struggle for basic legal rights (right to residence, work permit, right to family reunion, right to social security, etc) which most labour migrants worldwide are still struggling to achieve; thus more energy could be used for claiming and developing cultural/linguistic rights, including mother tongue medium education. The long Swedish colonisation of Finland had eradicated most of those differences between the two countries which are a central feature in the relationship between labour migrant minorities and the bulk of the majority populations in most other countries: differences in administrative and legal practices, in religion, in cultural traditions, and in levels of education. Besides, there is no clear difference in skin colour. The main difference between the Swedes and the Finns is the linguistic difference. Therefore language-related matters got more early attention in Sweden as causal factors in explaining educational failure among migrant children than in any other country. This has meant an earlier development of and experience in mother tongue medium education than in other countries. It also constitutes an example of the expressive dimension of ethnicity gaining more emphasis when some of the basic criteria for more equality vis-a-vis the instrumental dimension are met.

These two factors, the protected legal status and the joint history which left language as the main difference, explain why the Finnish experience in Sweden has concentrated on pursuing explanations for migrant educational failure which can make a unique contribution to a clarification of the linguistic human rights of labour migrants. It has also been of importance that most of the studies have been made by Finnish researchers, with a personal experience of both individual and official bilingualism, rather than more or less monolingual majority group researchers, with no experience of an officially bilingual country (for an elaboration of this, see Hujanen & Peura 1983, Peura 1987 and Skutnabb-Kangas 1983, 1986b, c, 1988a, b).

Counterhegemonies need to be constructed in praxis, in integration with theory. There are local examples of the successful construction of counterhegemonies in the field of linguistic human rights in education for minorities. The dominant ideology *is* contested by representatives of all the different kinds of minority group (see footnote 3). See for instance the work of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, or the activities promoted (and partly coordinated) by the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, or for a description of a successful 8-week school strike organised by Finnish women in a Stockholm suburb in 1984, in order to get more education through the medium of Finnish, and better L2-teaching in Swedish, Honkala, Leporanta-Morley, Liukka & Rougle 1988, Skutnabb-Kangas & Leporanta-Morley 1986 and Skutnabb-Kangas 1986. There has been some success in forcing the majority to accept the use of minority languages in some official functions like education.

It is important to study those situations worldwide where an indigenous or immigrant minority (or a part of it) has successfully challenged the monolingual ideology and has succeeded in establishing at least some linguistic rights, educationally or otherwise (for examples of this, see Benton 1986, Spolsky 1988, and articles by Ada; Appel; Campos & Keatinge; Curtis; Hagman & Lahdenper{; Hernandez-Chavez; Honkala, Leporanta-Morley, Liukka & Rougle; Jordan; Kalasniemi; Marainen; Pattanayak; Stairs; Tosi, all in Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins (eds) 1988). It is equally important to study situations where this struggle has *not* succeeded – see Curtis, Jalava, Jordan for empirical accounts and Cummins; Mullard; Pattanayak; Phillipson; Skutnabb-Kangas a for theoretical analyses of this, all in Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins (eds) 1988); see also Aikio 1988, Jordan 1985, and Kalema's and Mateene's articles in OAU's Bureau of Languages' two publications "Reconsideration of African Linguistic Policy" (1980) and "Linguistic Liberation and Unity of Africa", and the Gávppi court case described in chapter 11.

The effort to achieve greater justice for dominated languages via language rights is one element in the empowering of minorities (Cummins 1987). Studying the degree of success and factors leading (or failing to lead) to an establishment of (linguistic) counter-hegemonies gives a crucial understanding of the conditions under which it is possible to formulate a viable universal declaration of linguistic human rights and to start implementing it.

Scandinavia might probably be in a better position to contribute to an understanding of issues of language and power than are those who are more closely (and solely) identified with Anglo-American hegemony and the attitudes to language which follow with this, among them an unquestioning acceptance of monolingualism as a norm.

The deconstruction of monolingual hegemony has to be done by minorities in Europe and Europeanized countries themselves, together with representatives of the underdeveloped countries. Majority group researchers can support this by starting to question the scientific imperialism which has so efficiently prevented minorities from doing their own research and from publicizing accounts of successful attempts to construct counterhegemonies.

CHAPTER 11. THE GÁVPPI COURT CASE

The Oslo municipal court was from 17 to 20 October 1988 the scene of a unique legal case. Many indigenous peoples throughout the world have used the courts in order to demand the return of at least part of their ancient rights to land and water, and compensation for their losses. Some progress has been made, in Australia, Canada, etc. But the court case in Oslo was, so far as we are aware, the first case in which a representative of the indigenous peoples has demanded compensation from the state on the grounds that he has been deprived of his language and culture.

It naturally cannot be formulated in that way in legal language. In the writ it is stated that the "plaintiff is a Sami who in this case claims that he has not received the education to which he is entitled under Norwegian law."

First the facts

Johan Mathis Mikkelsen Gávppi (Gaup) (JMMG) was born in Kautokeino in February 1946. He is the son of Mikkel and Brita Gaup, who were nomadic Sami when JMMG was born. When he was 5, in 1951, the family settled in Eiby, Alta, near the family's ancestral winter pasture. There JMMG saw for the first time in his life a non-Sami and heard Norwegian for the first time. When he started school in Eiby in the autumn of 1953, where he and his sister were the only Sami. He knew no Norwegian. The sole teacher in the school spoke no Sami. There were major distinctions of class in the village, and the Sami family was at the bottom of the social hierarchy. JMMG was severely bullied by the other pupils from the start. The teacher never interfered in this. During the first two years JMMG was largely silent in class and understood almost none of the teaching. He had to repeat the first class. By the time of the fifth class JMMG was scarcely seen in school. He was regarded as a "difficult pupil". The council tried to get him moved to another school, but nothing ever came of it.

When he received his school-leaving report, he was awarded marks in only two subjects, Norwegian and maths (instead of the customary 13-15 subjects). The grade in each of them was "inadequate", in other words the lowest one can get. No grade was given in all the other subjects. JMMG could read mechanically, slowly and ploddingly, when he left school, without understanding much of what he read. He could write individual, short words but not whole sentences, not coherent text. He had of course never been taught to read or write Sami.

He could not be confirmed, because he could not read the psalms or the prayer book. He was exempted from military service after serving for four months. When he later enrolled for further education, the teacher advised him to give it up on the grounds that he lacked the necessary basic skills. His ability to earn a living was seriously curtailed. He tried his hand at various types of job, in Oslo too. When he became a father, it was he who stayed at home, as his wife could earn more. His entire life has been adversely affected by the fact that he did not receive the basic education that he, as Norwegian citizen, had the right to.

During the time that JMMG was at home with his children, he laboriously learned to read and write properly, together with his children. The first time that he met the lawyer who was to conduct the case for him, Leidulv Digernes, in connection with another matter at the start of the 1980's, Digernes states that there should have been an interpreter. It was impossible for the two to understand each other, although they were both speaking Norwegian. In recent years JMMG has perseveringly taken several subjects at school-leaving level ("A" level), but not yet maths or English. He has also passed a Sami exam with distinction. He is now aiming at qualifying as a social worker, but this will take several years yet.

JMMG is now 42. Under normal circumstances he should be at the top of his career. The non-verbal intelligence test which he took before the case, at the request of the court, shows an IQ somewhat above the average. The verbal test on the other hand produced a much lower score, which is what one can expect, as he was tested in Norwegian. Minority subjects who are tested in the majority language, which is a foreign language for them, generally get poorer results than what they would get in the mother tongue. This is sometimes even the case with non-verbal tests but particularly so with verbal tests. We can assume that JMMG's intelligence, if tested in Sami, would be above average. But there are no IQ tests in Sami.

If he had had the education that he had the right to, he could, with his intellectual capacities, have gone as far as anyone. JMMG could be a researcher at the Sami Institute, a school psychologist in Kautokeino, a social worker in Alta, a Sami politician in the Norwegian Parliament, a prosperous reindeer herder, or whatever he wanted. With a good salary and a secure job. That this is not so is mainly because of the educational policy for the Sami of the Norwegian government. It is the duty of the state to accept responsibility for the results of its educational policy.

On the court case

It has taken four years to prepare the case, which was heard in public. The representative of the state, from the Lord Chancellor's office, claimed that a court of law was not an appropriate forum for considering questions about the state's educational policy for the Sami in the 1950's. Educational policy should not be discussed, the only question at issue was the teaching that JMMG as an individual had received. The state's defending lawyer made the following claims:

1. Suing the state is ultra vires, as the responsibility for JMMG's education was the local council's,

2. JMMG was offered what he had the right to, in accordance with the relevant laws, regulations and resources at the time,

3. JMMG was a difficult pupil, and it was a problem to have him in a normal school; this in large measure explains his poor results,

4. JMMG has not incurred financial losses which can be shown to be connected to negligence on the part of the state.

5. The claim was obsolete.

JMMG's father and sister were called as witnesses, amd it transpired that the school did not contact JMMG's parents more than once during his entire schooling. A representative of the school authorities called. Mikkel Gaup was out in the mountains, and the only thing Brita Gaup understood of the rapid Norwegian was that there was talk of Johan Mathis and that he was a "good lad". In other words the parents understood that everything was in order at the school. The teacher that JMMG had from his third year of schooling, Ola Nordhagen, also gave testimony. He said, among other things, that he had never noticed that JMMG did not understand him, that JMMG understood spoken Norwegian and could speak Norwegian fluently.

If one does not know anything about the development of bilingualism (which the teacher clearly did not, as was the case with the court), one might be able to conclude that it actually was JMMG's own fault that he did not do well in school, as he could after two years at least speak Norwegian. This however would be quite false. It was quite apparent from the statements of the teacher about JMMG's language and from the teaching methods that the teacher based his conclusions on BICS, Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skill. This has been defined as "the skill to speak fluently, with a native accent, about concrete everyday matters, in an intellectually less demanding face-to-face situation where contextual cues can be used (where one can look, point, understand on the basis of the context, etc.)" (in TSK's book Minoritet, språk och rasism (Minority, language and racism), Malmö: Liber, 1986, page 61). We know from a number of studies (summarized, for instance, in Jim Cummins's book "Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy" (Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1984) that a child who starts a foreign language at about the age of 5 or 6 usually achieves an acceptable BICS over a period ranging from 6 months to 2 years. JMMG had clearly worked up an acceptable fluency in Norwegian within his first 2 to 3 years in school, which is why the teacher thought he was competent in Norwegian. This can also be seen in the only full report that JMMG received, after the fourth class, when he was graded only slightly below average. Typically his best marks are in non-verbal subjects, the best of all in drawing.

But in the higher classes of the school, roughly around the fourth to fifth class, when many of the verbal requirements start changing, more is needed both for the minority and the majority child. At this stage it is increasingly the CALP (Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency) part of language which determines school progress. This has been defined (in Skutnabb-Kangas 1986, 61) as "being able to use language as a tool for problem-solving in intellectually demanding decontextualised situations (ie situations where the message is carried by language alone and where few contextual cues are available)." And JMMG never had the chance to develop his CALP in school, even if it ought to be one of the school's fundamental tasks to teach children to obtain and evaluate knowledge, to solve problems and think with the help of language. In the lower classes, when teaching is more concrete and builds on everyday experience, the child can manage with BICS, even if she or he does not understand the language fully. When you advance higher up, the CALP part of language becomes decisive for success in school. If you have not developed the medium of education as an efficient tool for intellectually demanding problem-solving, you do not do well in school. If you do not get anything out of school, the most sensible and meaningful reaction is gradually not to come to school any longer. In JMMG's case, the school has neglected its duty to transmit knowledge and judgement.

The school also neglected the other duties which are declared goals according to the official regulations, namely to supplement the parents as educators and prepare the child for continuing education. This is the view of professor Anton Hoem, who appeared as an expert witness to the court, as did Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (TSK). According to the state's counsel for the defence, the only duty of the school is to offer teaching, while the pupil has no right to learn anything, to profit from it. This was contested by professor Hoem in respect of the time when JMMG attended school: there were minimal requirements which were established centrally for every year of schooling and which every pupil was to meet. In addition Hoem provided detailed information on the school achievement, or rather the lack of it, of Sami pupils. He established that in the 1950's poor results were well known and clearly documented facts, because of the obligatory duty to report. It was impossible to argue, as counsel for the defence did, that the central authorities were unaware of the situation.

TSK's expert testimony also established that in the 1950s many of the facts about the causes of the poor school achievement of minority children were familiar. Back in the 1920s and 1930s, many studies, particularly in the USA, had revealed wide discrepancies between the non-verbal and verbal intelligence test results of minority children, and in particular the bias of verbal tests when the child was tested in a foreign language. A UNESCO group of experts, in a book published in 1953 (Vernacular languages in education, Paris) propounded the principle that it was axiomatic (i.e. no further proof was required, as it was incontestable) that the mother tongue was the best medium of education. As early as 1906 the Sami member of the Norwegian Parliament, Isak Saba, brought up the issue of Sami education in the parliament several times. The chairman of the committee for church and school affairs, Horst, in a parliamentary debate summed up his view, in a manner which is still valid today, as follows: "... above all I think the teacher has to know the language of the children in order to be able to teach them the Norwegian that they are to learn, and thereby teach them how to learn." (quoted in L.Lind Melöys excellent book "Internatliv i Finnmark. Skolepolitikk 1900-1940" (Boarding school life in Finnmark, Educational policy 1900-1940), Det Norske Samlaget, Oslo, 1980, page 93). In the book "Fornorskningen' i Finnmarken" (Norwegianisation in Finnmark) (1917), the clergymen Johannes Hidles and Jens Otterbech record similar treatment to what JMMG was subjected to, and are highly critical of the assimilation policy. Hans Vogt, who later became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oslo, spoke and wrote against the assimilation policy, see for instance his book "Målstrid og klassekamp" (The language dispute and class struggle), 1932.

Ignorance of the state of affairs is therefore an untenable defence. Teachers, school authorities, clergymen, politicians, and researchers were well aware of what was happening and what was wrong. This was also evident in the testimony of Arthur Gjerdmundsen, who was inspector of schools in Finnmark from 1956 to 1963. The entire educational policy of Norway towards the Sami was characterized by "irresponsible behaviour", "crude indifference" and "gross neglect", such as can lead to a claim for compensation. The fact that other Sami children and the children of other indigenous minorities round the world have been given the same inhuman treatment as JMMG is not a mitigating circumstance. That others have been oppressed does not legitimate the oppression JMMG experienced – no-one should have been. JMMG is merely the first person who has had the knowledge, analysis, consciousness and courage needed to go to court.

Several of the international conventions and covenants on human rights were considered during the court case. None of them gives the minority child a firm guarantee of the right to teaching in the mother tongue. Nor does any of them ensure a pupil's right to require that she or he should derive any benefit from the teaching. On the other hand there is a judgement from the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg (in the "Belgian Linguistic Case") in which the court held that the right to education must be interpreted to mean that the pupil has the right to benefit from the teaching and has the right to a leaving certificate with grades in the relevant subjects. This case was cited, not surprisingly, not by the state defence lawyer but by TSK in her expert testimony – and she is not a lawyer. If JMMG is obliged to go all the way to Strasbourg, there is a precedent.

The analysis of minority educational policy in a range of OECD countries shows that typically in the initial phases of minority education, deficiency theories are used when explanations are sought for why minority children do poorly in school. Deficiency theories attribute blame to the minority itself, rather than to the racist minority educational policy of the state and the school. In the various phases of deficiency theories what is blamed is (1) the child's inadequate proficiency in the foreign language (meaning that the child suffers from a *foreign-language-related handicap*); (2) the parents' social background which makes them unsuited to help the child in school (meaning the parents suffer from a *social handicap*); (3) the minority group's "foreign" or "primitive" culture (meaning the minority group suffers from a *cultural handicap*); or (4) the child's inadequate proficiency in the mother tongue, which provides a poor foundation for the learning of the foreign language too (meaning the child suffers from a *mother-tongue-related handicap*, mother tongue deprivation).

All of these explanations were used by the defence lawyer in order to attempt to show that it was actually the fault of JMMG, his parents, his ethnic background, and his culture which accounted for his low school achievement: he was a "difficult pupil".

The court case was a classic example of what many of us researchers have been saying for a long time, namely that deficiency explanations are used to divert attention away from the deficiencies of the school and the society, and from the racist educational policy that most states in the world still inflict on minorities. The failings of the school and the state are, with the help of deficiency theories, made to look as though they were the fault of the minority itself. The victim is blamed, she or he is branded as deficient, rather than the persecutor. The state's lawyer also tried to do this during this case. JMMG was branded as a "difficult pupil", rather than as a pupil who reacted in the only way possible in the face of a racist educational policy. The fact is that it is the school and the state's educational policy which are "difficult" and which constitute the problem, and not the child who suffers as a result of educational policy nor the child's parents or group. The school was not appropriate to the needs of Sami children, either linguistically or culturally. But instead of accepting responsibility for this it is easier to make the victim a scapegoat.

TSK also summarized various educational programmes from a wide variety of countries, and demonstrated that the teaching which JMMG received only lived up to one of the 16 criteria which can reasonably be required of any educational programme aiming to make children bilingual. he was able to hear native speakers of Norwegian outside school in linguistically demanding formal contexts. Even when the teaching was through the medium of Norwegian (ie not Sami), some of the other criteria could have been met, for instance the criterion of bilingual teaching materials or possibly the requirement of a low level of stress (if the teacher had not permitted bullying). The analysis also showed that the teaching which most European countries provide for their indigenous and immigrant minorities in some respects offers the child less scope for becoming bilingual than does the Bantu education that South Africa offers black children in Namibia.

What next?

The judgement came at the end of November, and JMMG lost his case. He is of course going to appeal (if the money for it can be raised – contributions are welcome!). He is willing to go all the way to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

If he wins there – which it is reasonable to assume he should – what perspectives does that open up?

All the Samis in the Nordic countries who have not received the education they should have had will be able to demand compensation from the state. All the Inuits in Greenland likewise. All indigenous minorities round the world likewise. Many of their representatives are following the case closely. For instance among Maoris in New Zealand there are several who are ready to start a similar case if JMMG wins. There have already been discussions among some immigrant groups in Sweden about possibly following Gávppi's example. It does not help immigrant children who attend school now to console them with the thought that they may acquire rights in a few centuries. People in other countries are definitely very interested – it is easy to see how unique the case is. But what about the Norwegian media? Was there a hive of activity in the courtroom as TV, radio and newspapers all tried to get in?

The case was not followed by a single paper, nor by the radio or TV. We leave it to readers to draw their own conclusions.

The case none the less brings out into the open the worldwide absence of linguistic human rights. We (TSK & RP) have analysed most of the existing international and European conventions and declarations in order particularly to identify the linguistic rights of minority children in educational systems. Our depressing conclusion was mentioned earlier: there are no legally binding guarantees on teaching through the medium of the mother tongue. On a grid which starts with the prohibition of the minority language in school and moves via toleration and non-discrimination prescription to permission to use the minority language in school and ends with support for the language, the international conventions do not achieve more than the toleration of the minority language. The new International Declaration on the Rights of the Child, which the United Nations is expected to approve in 1989, does not provide any support for linguistic rights in education either. There is therefore a need for a UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS. Work on such a declaration has already begun. At a symposium organized by AIMAV (an organization concerned with foreign language teaching and intercultural education), with UNESCO support, and held in Receife, Brazil in October 1987, a preliminary declaration was accepted, and which we are working on further. It declares as follows:

1. Every social group has the right to positively identify with one or more languages and to have such identification accepted and respected by others.

2. Every child has the right to learn the language(s) of his/her group fully.

3. Every child has the right to using the language(s) of his/her group in any official situation.

4. Every person has the right to learn fully at least one of the official languages in the country wheres/he is resident, according to her/his own choice."

Norway, like all the Nordic countries, violates all the paragraphs in this declaration, as the court case showed. Even during the hearing of the case itself, the third paragraph was flaunted. JMMG's father, Mikkel Gaup, had via JMMG's lawyer requested an interpreter, so that he could speak Sami, but no interpreter was provided. The explanation offered was that the judge "had not heard" when the lawyer requested an interpreter (whereas the rest of us heard it quite clearly). JMMG's sister, Ellen Marit Gaup Dunfjell, agreed to interpret for her father, a procedure which ought to be prohibited, as she had an interest in the case, and had never qualified as an interpreter nor sworn an interpreter's oath. She was not required to function under oath by the court either ...

Although the state defence lawyer attempted to individualize the case and make it appear as though it was a question of one person against the state, the court case has of course a much wider symbolic significance. In reality it was all the linguistically oppressed minorities in the world who in the person of Johan Mathis Mikkelsen Gávppi have started a struggle to have their legitimate linguistic and cultural rights respected, by using the legal system, the preferred method of peaceable minorities. Despite the crude physical and psychological violence perpetrated against indigenous peoples, most of them still hold to their ancient belief in the power of the word and the spirit, rather than the power of physical violence. It is symbolic that JMMG is struggling for the right to language with the help of linguistic means. Belief in the power of the word and the spirit against violence derives from ancient Sami faith. It is no surprise that it is the son of a shaman who has started the world's first court case on indigenous peoples' right to language and culture.

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